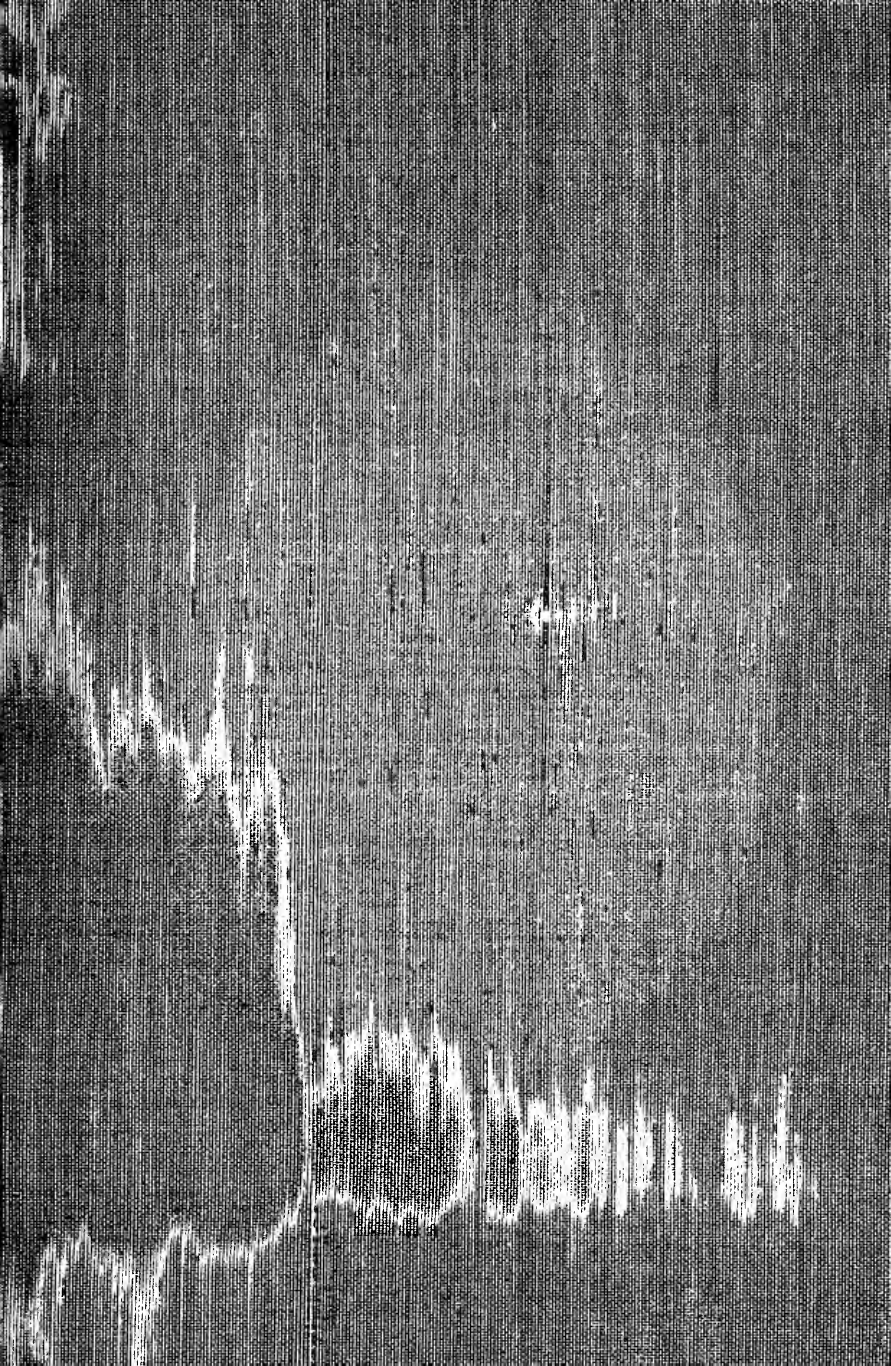

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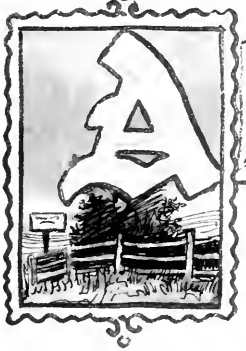

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Vol. XII. Part 1.

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Anthology.

Anthology of Sayings of Abraham Lincoln.

House Divided Against Itself

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 16, 1858, vol. III, p. 1.*

With Malice Toward None

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.——*Second Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1865, vol. XI, p. 46.*

Let Bygones be Bygones

Let bygones be bygones; let past differences as nothing be; and with steady eye on the real issue, let us reinaugurate the good old "central ideas" of the republic. The human heart is with us. God is with us.——*Speech at Chicago Banquet, Dec. 10, 1856, vol. II, p. 311.*

Few Things Wholly Evil

The true rule, in determining to embrace or reject anything is not whether it have any evil in it, but whether it have more of evil than of good. There are few things wholly evil or wholly good.——*Speech on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 37.*

Faith that Right Makes Might

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.——*Address at Cooper Institute, New York City, Feb. 27, 1860, vol. V, p. 328.*

Fooling the People

You can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time.——*Speech at Clinton, Ill., Sept. 8, 1858, vol. III, p. 349.*

Government of the People

We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.——*Gettysburg Address, Nov. 19, 1863, vol. IX, p. 210.*

Violation of Liberty

Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty.——*Lyceum Address, Jan. 27, 1837, vol. I, p. 43.*

Reading Through an Eagle

The plainest print cannot be read through a gold eagle.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857. vol. II, p. 338.*

Power of Public Opinion

In this age, and in this country, public sentiment is everything. With it, nothing can fail; against it, nothing can succeed.——*Notes for Speeches, Oct. 1, 1858, vol. IV, p. 222.*

Controlled by Events

I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.——*Letter to A. G. Hodges, Apr. 4, 1864, vol. X, p. 68.*

Stand with the Right

Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill. Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 243.*

Emancipation Irrevocable

If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons [negroes], another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1864, vol. X, p. 310.*

Seeing Through the Guinea

The dissenting minister who argued some theological point with one of the established church was always met by the reply, "I can't see it so." He opened the Bible and pointed him to a passage, but the orthodox minister replied, "I can't see it so." Then he showed him a single word—"Can you see that?" "Yes, I see it," was the reply. The dissenter laid a guinea over the word, and asked "Do you see it now?"——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 344.*

Difference in Consciences

Consciences differ in different individuals.——*Notes for Speeches, Oct. 1, 1858, vol. IV, p. 213.*

Clear Before His Own Conscience

At least I should have done my duty, and have stood clear before my own conscience.——*Memorandum, Aug. 23, 1864, vol. X, p. 204.*

Inflexibility of Principle

Important principles may and must be inflexible. ——*Last Public Address, Apr. 11, 1865, Vol. XI, p. 92.*

Origin of the Will

Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest.—*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857, vol. II, p. 338.*

Eastern Aphorism

It is said an Eastern monarch once charged his wise men to invent him an aphorism to be ever in view, and which should be true and appropriate in all times and situations. They presented him the words, "And this, too, shall pass away."——*Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859, vol. V, p. 255.*

Demand for Facts

No man has needed favors more than I, and, generally, few have been less unwilling to accept them; but in this case favor to me would be injustice to the

public, and therefore I must beg your pardon for declining it. That I once had the confidence of the people of Sangamon is sufficiently evident; and if I have since done anything, either by design or misadventure, which, if known, would subject me to a forfeiture of that confidence, he that knows of that thing, and conceals it, is a traitor to his country's interest.——*Letter to Robert Allen, June 21, 1836, vol. I, p. 15.*

Truth and Prudence

I never encourage deceit, and falsehood, especially if you have got a bad memory, is the *worst* enemy a fellow can have. The fact is, truth is your truest friend, no matter what the circumstances are. Notwithstanding this copy-book preamble, my boy, I am inclined to suggest a *little prudence.*——*Letter to George E. Pickett, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 191.*

Judgment Deferred

There is something so ludicrous in promises of good or threats of evil a great way off as to render the whole subject with which they are connected easily turned into ridicule. "Better lay down that spade you are stealing, Paddy; if you don't you'll pay for it at the day of judgment." "Be the powers, if ye'll credit me so long I'll take another jist."—*Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 202.*

For the Man Who Works

I am always for the man who wishes to work.——*Indorsement of Application for Employment, Aug. 15, 1864, vol. X, p. 192.*

Men More than Money

Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.——*Response to a Serenade, Nov. 10, 1864, vol. X, p. 264.*

Rare Want Encouraged

The lady bearer of this says she has two sons who want to work. Set them at it if possible. Wanting to work is so rare a want that it should be encouraged. ——*Note to Major Ramsey, Oct. 17, 1861, vol. XI, p. 120.*

Lincoln the Hired Laborer

I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flatboat—just what might happen to any poor man's son. I want every man to have a chance.——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 361.*

Causes of Poverty

If any continue through life in the condition of the hired laborer, it is not the fault of the system, but be-

cause of either a dependent nature which prefers it, or improvidence, folly, or singular misfortune.——*Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859, vol. V, p. 250.*

Men Worthy of Trust

No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1861, vol. VII, p. 59.*

Safety from Violence

Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.——*Reply to New York Working-Men, Mar. 21, 1864, vol. X, p. 54.*

Land to Bury Him

Part with the land you have, and, my life upon it, you will never after own a spot big enough to bury you in.——*Letter to John D. Johnston, Nov. 4, 1851, vol. II, p. 150.*

Work Where You Are

If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are; if you do not intend to go to work, you cannot get along anywhere.——*Letter to John D. Johnston, Nov. 4, 1851, vol. II, p. 150.*

Place in Heaven Cheap

You say you would almost give your place in heaven for seventy or eighty dollars. Then you value your place in heaven very cheap, for I am sure you can, with the offer I make, get the seventy or eighty dollars for four or five months' work.——*Letter to John D. Johnston, Jan. 2, 1851, vol. II, p. 145.*

Importance of Industry

You do not very much dislike to work, and still you do not work much, merely because it does not seem to you that you could get much for it. This habit of uselessly wasting time is the whole difficulty; it is vastly important to you, and still more so to your children, that you should break the habit. It is more important to them, because they have longer to live, and can keep out of an idle habit before they are in it, easier than they can get out after they are in.—— *Letter to John D. Johnston, Jan. 2, 1851, vol. II, p. 144.*

Wages of Laborers and Presidents

An honest laborer digs coal at about seventy cents a day, while the President digs abstractions at about seventy dollars a day. The coal is clearly worth more than the abstractions, and yet what a monstrous inequality in the prices.——*Speech on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 37.*

Posterity Pays no Wages

Few can be induced to labor exclusively for posterity; and none will do it enthusiastically.——*Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 201.*

Inspiration of Hope in Labor

Free labor has the inspiration of hope; pure slavery has no hope. The power of hope upon human exertion and happiness is wonderful.——*On Slavery, July 1, 1854, vol. II, p. 185.*

Self-interest Universal

Unless among those deficient of intellect, everybody you trade with makes something.——*Address on Negro Colonization, Aug. 14, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 7.*

Advancement the Universal Order.

Advancement—improvement in condition—is the order of things in a society of equals.——*Fragment on Slavery, July 1, 1854, vol. II, p. 185.*

Curse of the Shifted Burden

As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race.——*Fragment on Slavery, July 1,1854, vol. II, p. 185.*

Must Have a Job

You must make a job for the bearer of this—make a job of it with the collector and have it done. You *can* do it for me and you *must.*——*Letter to James Pollock, Aug. 15, 1861, vol. VI, p. 344.*

Labor and its Product

Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy subject of any good government.——*Tariff Discussion, Dec. 1, 1847, vol. I, p. 307.*

"Mud-sill" Labor Theory

A Yankee who could invent a strong-handed man without a head would receive the everlasting gratitude of the "mud-sill" advocates.——*Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859, vol. V, p. 251.*

Wants to See the Money

We would always be easily satisfied, provided we could see the money—but whatever fee we earn at a distance, if not paid before, we have noticed, we

never hear of after the work is done. We, therefore, are growing a little sensitive on that point.——*Letter to James S. Irwin, Nov. 2, 1842, vol. XI, p. 99.*

Solidarity of Labor

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. ——*Reply to New York Working-Men, Mar. 21, 1864, vol. X, p. 53.*

Capitalists' Rule of Harmony

These capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert, to fleece the people, and now, that they have got into a quarrel with themselves, we are called upon to appropriate the people's money to settle the quarrel.——*Speech before Illinois Legislature, Jan. 1837, vol. I, p. 24.*

Principle of Harmony

The same spirit says, "You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.——*Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858, vol. V, p. 65.*

Satan and the Bible

He has warred upon them as Satan wars upon the Bible.——*Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858, vol. V, p. 45.*

God and the Right Prevail

If we do right God will be with us, and if God is with us we cannot fail.——*Proclamation for Day of Prayer, July 7, 1864, vol. X, p. 149.*

Probability of Revelation

If it is probable that God would reveal His will to others on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed He would reveal it directly to me.——*Reply to Committee from Religious Denominations of Chicago, Ill., Sept. 13, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 29.*

Men not Flattered by Veracity

Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them.——*Letter to Thurlow Weed, Mar. 15, 1865, vol. XI, p. 54.*

Neither Magic nor Miracle

The way these measures were to help the cause was not to be by magic or miracles.——*Letter to Charles D. Robinson, Aug. 17, 1864, vol. X. p. 194.*

Shorn Lamb and Tempered Wind

How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that He renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while He permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable.——*Letter to Mary Speed, Sept. 27, 1841, vol. I, p. 179.*

Not His Kind of Religion

I am not much of a judge of religion, but, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven.——*Memorandum, Dec. 3, 1864, vol. X, p. 280.*

Forgiveness on Repentance

On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has not done wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong hereafter.——*Indorsement, Feb. 5, 1864, vol. IX, p. 303.*

Earnestness of Rebel Prayers

The rebel soldiers are praying with a great deal more earnestness, I fear, than our own troops, and

expecting God to favor their side; for one of our soldiers . . . said that he met with nothing so discouraging as the evident sincerity of those he was among in their prayers.——*Reply to Committee from the Religious Denominations of Chicago, Ill., Sept. 13, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 29.*

Prayers to the Same God

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces.——*Second Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1865, vol. XI, p. 45.*

Value of Extemporaneous Speaking

Extemporaneous speaking should be practised and cultivated. It is the lawyer's avenue to the public. ——*Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850, vol. II, p. 141.*

Folly of Suspicion and Jealousy

The way for a young man to rise is to improve himself every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wishes to hinder him. Allow me to assure you that suspicion and jealousy never did help any man in any situation. There may sometimes be ungenerous attempts to keep a young man down; and they will

succeed, too, if he allows his mind to be diverted from its true channel to brood over the attempted injury.——*Letter to William H. Herndon, July 10, 1848, vol. II, p. 57.*

Young Men Must Push

You must not wait to be brought forward by the older men. . . . You young men get together and form a "Rough and Ready Club," and have regular meetings and speeches. Take in everybody you can get. . . . Let everyone play the part he can play best,—some speak, some sing, and all "holler."——*Letter to William H. Herndon, June 22, 1848, vol. II. p. 50.*

Safety Assured in Distance

I think perhaps it might be wise to hand this letter from me, in to your good uncle through his room-window *after* he has had a *comfortable dinner,* and watch its effect from the top of the pigeon-house.——*Letter to George E. Pickett, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 191.*

Worth of Man's Self

It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the great God who made him.——*Address on Negro Colonization, Aug. 14, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 5.*

Best of a Bad Bargain

If you make a bad bargain, hug it all the tighter. ——*Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Feb. 25, 1842, vol. I, p. 213.*

Force of Universal Feeling

A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, cannot be safely disregarded.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 207.*

Pinched Toes and Bad Motives

Ready are we all to cry out and ascribe motives when our own toes are pinched.——*Letter to Gen. Rosecrans, Mar. 17, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 228.*

How to Make Friends

"A drop of honey catches more flies than a gallon of gall." So with men. If you would win a man to your cause, first convince him that you are his sincere friend. Therein is a drop of honey which catches his heart, which, say what he will, is the great high-road to his reason.——*Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 197.*

Maxim to Remember

Now, boy, on your march, don't you go and forget the old maxim that "one drop of honey catches more

flies than a half-gallon of gall." Load your musket with this maxim, and smoke it in your pipe.——*Letter to George E. Pickett, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 192.*

Better Part of Life

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships.——*Letter to Joseph Gillespie, July 13, 1849, vol. II, p. 125.*

Effects of Misrepresentation

When a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him—at least, I find it so with myself; but when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him.——*Reply at Ottawa Debate, Aug. 21, 1858, vol. III, p. 223.*

Silence not Always Safe

It is not entirely safe, when one is misrepresented under his very nose, to allow the misrepresentation to go uncontradicted.——*Speech at Columbus, O., Sept. 16, 1859, vol. V, p. 141.*

Relief for Embarrassment

When one is embarrassed, usually the shortest way to get through with it is to quit talking or thinking about it, and go at something else.——*Speech at Cincinnati, O., Sept. 17, 1859, vol. V, p. 190.*

Act Well Your Part

He who does *something* at the head of one regiment, will eclipse him who does *nothing* at the head of a hundred.——*Letter to Gen. Hunter, Dec. 31, 1861, vol. VII, p. 70.*

Military Successes Wanted

Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship.——*Letter to Gen. Hooker, Jan. 26, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 207.*

No Holidays in War Times

War does not admit of holidays.——*Letter to T. H. Clay, Oct. 8, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 55.*

Rose-water Warfare

Would you drop the war where it is? Or would you prosecute it in future with elderstalk squirts charged with rose-water?——*Letter to Cuthbert Bullitt, July 28, 1862, vol. VII, p. 297.*

Carried away by Cowardly Legs

If the Lord gives a man a pair of cowardly legs, how can he help their running away with him?——*Telegram to Gen. Meade, Sept. 11, 1863, vol. IX, p. 117.*

Cæsar's Heart with Falstaff's Legs

"Captain, I have as brave a heart as Julius Cæsar ever had; but, somehow or other, whenever danger approaches, my cowardly legs will run away with it." ——*Speech on the Sub-treasury, Dec. 20, 1839, vol. I, p. 136.*

Only McClellan's Body-guard

It is called the Army of the Potomac, but it is only McClellan's body-guard. . . . If McClellan is not using the Army I should like to borrow it for awhile. ——*Letter to Gen. McClellan, Apr. 9, 1862, vol. VII, p. 141.*

Color of Julius Cæsar's Hair

I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, to be appointed colonel of a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Cæsar's hair.——*Note to Sec. Stanton, Nov. 11, 1863, vol. IX, p. 206.*

To Capture the Man in the Moon

To move down the Cumberland Valley, will, in my unprofessional opinion, be quite as likely to capture the "man in the moon" as any part of Lee's army. ——*Telegram to Gen. Thomas, July 8, 1863, vol. IX, p. 23.*

Generalships not Plentiful

You must know that major-generalships in the regular army are not as plenty as blackberries.——*Telegram to R. Yates and William Butler, Apr. 10, 1862, vol. VII, p. 145.*

Let the Crop Go to Waste

I believed that General Meade and his noble army had expended all the skill, and toil, and blood, up to the ripe harvest, and then let the crop go to waste.——*Letter to Gen. Howard, July 21, 1863, vol. IX, p. 39.*

Board at Home and Attack Enemy

I understand the main body of the enemy is very near you, so near that you could "board at home," so to speak, and menace or attack him any day.——*Telegram to Gen. Rosecrans, Oct. 4, 1863, vol. IX, p. 154.*

Animal Very Slim Somewhere

If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?——*Telegram to Gen. Hooker, June 14, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 315.*

Going in and Coming Out

The most interesting news we now have is from Sherman. We all know where he went in, but I can't tell where he will come out.——*Response to a Serenade, Dec. 6, 1864, vol. X, p. 311.*

Heroic Confederate Recruiting

We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen.——*Letter to Gov. Seymour, Aug. 7, 1863, vol. IX, p. 60.*

Holding On With Bull-Dog Grip

Hold on with a bull-dog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible——*Telegram to Gen. Grant, Aug. 17, 1864, vol. X, p. 193.*

Loss of Enemies Not a Gain

The loss of enemies does not compensate for the loss of friends.——*Telegram to Sec. Seward, June 30, 1862, vol. VII, p. 245.*

Let the Thing Be Pressed

Gen. Sheridan says "If the thing be pressed I think that Lee will surrender." Let the *thing* be pressed.——*Telegram to Gen. Grant, Apr. 7, 1865, vol. XI, p. 77.*

Flourishing on the Skewhorn Principle

Doubtless a small force of the enemy is flourishing about in the northern part of Virginia on the "skewhorn" principle.——*Telegram to Gov. Curtin, Apr. 28, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 257.*

Hold Position and Hive Enemy

If you can hold your present position, we shall hive the enemy yet.——*Telegram to Gen. McClellan, July 5, 1862, vol. VII, p. 261.*

Smoky Localities Held Responsible

Experience has already taught us in this war that holding these smoky localities responsible for the conflagrations within them has a very salutary effect. ——*Letter to J. R. Underwood and H. Grider, Oct. 26, 1864, vol. X, p. 254.*

Rank on Paper a Small Matter

Truth to speak, I do not appreciate this matter of rank on paper as you officers do.——*Letter to Gen. Rosecrans, Mar. 17, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 228.*

Merely a Question of Legs

Assuming this, it is for you a question of legs. Put in all the speed you can.——*Telegram to Gen. McDowell, May 28, 1862, vol. VII, p. 198.*

On the Fence

I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other.——*Telegram to Gen. Hooker, June 5, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 292.*

Uncle Sam's Web-Feet

Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present.——*Letter to James C. Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863, vol. IX, p. 101.*

Walking to Save Skin

Does Joe Heiskell's "walking to meet us" mean any more than that "Joe" was scared and wanted to save his skin?——*Telegram to Gov. Johnson, Aug. 2, 1864, vol. X, p. 179.*

Way to Succeed Is to Try

I say "try"; if we never try, we shall never succeed.——*Letter to Gen. McClellan, Oct. 13, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 59.*

Adjusting Taxes Exactly

If we should wait before collecting a tax, to adjust the taxes upon each man in exact proportion

with every other man, we should never collect any tax at all.——*Address to 164th Ohio Regiment, Aug. 18, 1864, vol. X, p. 200.*

Any Thinking Better Than None

It is better only sometimes to be right than at all times to be wrong.——*Address to the People of Sangamon Co., Mar. 9, 1832, vol. I, p. 8.*

Working Together Brings Success

We can succeed only by concert. It is not "Can any of us imagine better?" but, "can we all do better?"——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 130.*

Deeds, Not Words, Wanted

Tell him, when he starts, to put it through—not to be writing or telegraphing back here, but put it through.——*Letter to Sec. Cameron, June 20, 1861, vol. VI, p. 294.*

How to Get Things Done

Determine that the thing can and shall be done, and then we shall find the way. . . . How to do something and still not do too much is the desideratum.——*Speech on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 46.*

Practice the Best Proof

Practice proves more than theory, in any case.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 128.*

More Than Breath Wanted

The North responds to the proclamation sufficiently in breath; but breath alone kills no rebels. ——*Letter to Hannibal Hamlin, Sept. 28, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 50.*

In His Own Good Time

I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause.——*Letter to Charles D. Robinson, Aug. 17, 1864, vol. X, p. 194.*

Vigilance Is the Price of Success

It will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour, and force it.——*Telegram to Gen. Grant, Aug. 3, 1864, vol. X, p. 180.*

President in Name and Fact

I propose continuing to be myself the judge as to when a member of the Cabinet shall be dismissed. ——*Letter to Sec. Stanton, July 14, 1864, vol. X, p. 158.*

Not Fooled by Girls

Others have been made fools of by the girls, but this can never with truth be said of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool of myself. ——*Letter to Mrs. O. H. Browning, Apr. 1, 1838, vol. I, p. 92.*

Feeling Toward Women

Whatever woman may cast her lot with mine, should any ever do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to make her happy and contented; and there is nothing I can imagine that would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort.——*Letter to Miss Mary Owens, May 7, 1837, vol. I, p. 53.*

Not Satisfied With Blockheads

I have now come to the conclusion never again to think of marrying, and for this reason—I can never be satisfied with anyone who would be blockhead enough to have me.——*Letter to Mrs. O. H. Browning, Apr. 1, 1838, vol. I, p. 92.*

Plead Only What You Must

In law, it is good policy to never plead what you need not, lest you oblige yourself to prove what you cannot.——*Letter to U. F. Linder, Feb. 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 3.*

Honor for Women

I want in all cases to do right, and most particularly so in all cases with women.——*Letter to Miss Mary Owens, Aug. 16, 1837, vol. I, p. 56.*

Marrying Southern Girls

We mean to marry your girls when we have a chance—the white ones, I mean, and I have the honor to inform you that I once did have a chance in that way.——*Speech at Cincinnati, O., Sept. 17, 1859, vol. V, p. 218.*

God Bless the Women

I am not accustomed to the use of language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America.——*Remarks on Closing Sanitary Fair in Washington, Mar. 18, 1864, vol. X, p. 48.*

Good Lawyer in a Bad Case

I have sometimes seen a good lawyer, struggling for his client's neck in a desperate case, employing

every artifice to work round, befog and cover up with many words some point arising in the case which he dared not admit and yet could not deny. ——*Mexican War Speech, Jan. 12, 1848, vol. I, p. 337.*

Groomsman to His Rival

In getting Baker the nomination I shall be fixed a good deal like a fellow who is made a groomsman to a man that has cut him out and is marrying his own dear "gal."——*Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Mar. 24, 1843, vol. I, p. 261.*

Ready to Hang the Panel

A jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor.——*Letter to Erastus Corning, June 12, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 303.*

Mob Law Not a Redress

There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.——*Lyceum Address, Jan. 27, 1837, vol. I, p. 44.*

Severity Not Best Policy

The severest justice may not always be the best policy.——*Message to Congress, July 17, 1862, vol. VII, p. 283.*

Lawyers as Peace-Makers

Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbor to compromise whenever you can. . . . As a peace-maker the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man. There will still be business enough.——*Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850, vol. II, p. 142.*

No Wrong Without a Remedy

It is a maxim held by the courts, that there is no wrong without its remedy; and the courts have a remedy for whatever is acknowledged and treated as a wrong.——*Reply at Jonesboro Debate, Sept. 15, 1858, vol. IV, p. 60.*

Life More Than Limb

By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb.——*Letter to A. G. Hodges, Apr. 4, 1864, vol. X, p. 66.*

An Honest Lawyer or Not at All

Let no young man choosing the law for a calling for a moment yield to the popular belief—resolve to be honest at all events; and if in your own judgment you cannot be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer.——*Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850, vol. II, p. 143.*

Leading Rule for All Callings

The leading rule for the lawyer, as for the man of every other calling, is diligence. Leave nothing for to-morrow which can be done to-day.——*Notes for a Law Lecture, July 1, 1850, vol. II, p. 141.*

How Public Purpose Is Indicated

The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1864, vol. X, p. 304.*

Trust the People With Their Own

We see it, and to us it appears like principle, and the best sort of principle at that—the principle of allowing the people to do as they please with their own business.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 64.*

Dissolution of the Union Impossible

All this talk about the dissolution of the Union is humbug, nothing but folly. We do not want to dissolve the Union; you shall not.——*Speech at Galena, Ill., Aug. 1, 1856, vol. II, p. 295.*

Spirit of the Constitution

It is said the devil takes care of his own. Much more should a good spirit—the spirit of the Consti-

tution and the Union—take care of its own. I think it cannot do less and live.——*Opinion on Admission of West Virginia, Dec. 31, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 158.*

Allaying Plaster an Irritant

That very allaying plaster of Judge Douglas' stirred it up again.——*Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858, vol. V, p. 45.*

Cure for Artificial Crisis

This crisis is altogether artificial. It has no foundation in fact. It can't be argued up, and it can't be argued down. Let it alone, and it will go down of itself.——*Address at Cleveland, O., Feb. 15, 1861, vol. VI, p. 131.*

Laws Among Aliens and Friends

Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? ——*First Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1861, vol. VI, p. 181.*

Union Forever at Any Cost

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it

by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.——*Letter to Horace Greeley, Aug. 22, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 16.*

Devoted to Peace and Brotherhood

With my consent, or without my great displeasure, this country shall never witness the shedding of one drop of blood in fraternal strife.——*Reply to Gov. Curtin, Feb. 22, 1861, vol. VI, p. 161.*

Sugar-Coated Rebellion

With rebellion thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years.——*Message to Congress, July 4, 1861, vol. VI, p. 313.*

No Chickens From Smashed Eggs

Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only what it should be, as the egg to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.——*Last Public Address, Apr. 11, 1865, vol. XI, p. 91.*

Thorn in Animal's Vitals

This rebellion can only eke out a short and feeble existence, as an animal sometimes may with a thorn in its vitals.——*Letter to Gen. Halleck, Sept. 21, 1863, vol. IX, p. 132.*

Foul Bird and Dirty Reptile

Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up.——*Letter to Charles D. Drake and Others, Oct. 5, 1863, vol. IX, p. 157.*

Quiet Past and Stormy Present

The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present.——*Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 131.*

No Mending for Broken Eggs

Broken eggs cannot be mended; but Louisiana has nothing to do now but to take her place in the Union as it was, barring the already broken eggs. ——*Letter to August Belmont, July 31, 1862, vol. VII, p. 299.*

Stopping One Leak to Open Another

Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another, and probably a larger one?——*Telegram to Col. A. K. McClure, June 30, 1863, vol. IX, p. 14.*

Politicians and Honest Men

This work is exclusively the work of politicians; a set of men who have interests aside from the inter-

ests of the people, and who, to say the most of them, are. taken as a mass, at least one long step removed from honest men. I say this with the greater freedom because, being a politician myself, none can regard it as personal.——*Bank Speech, Jan., 1837, vol. I, p. 27.*

Paying the Fiddler Generously

It is an old maxim and a very sound one that he that dances should always pay the fiddler. Now, sir, if any gentlemen, whose money is a burden to them, choose to lead off a dance, I am decidedly opposed to the people's money being used to pay the fiddler. ——*Speech before Illinois Legislature, Jan., 1837, vol. I, p. 23.*

Vulnerable Heels Make Fast Time

"The Democrats are vulnerable in the heel but they are sound in the head and the heart." The first branch of the figure—that is, that the Democrats are vulnerable in the heel—I admit is not merely figuratively, but literally true. . . . It seems that this malady of their heels operates on these sound-minded and honest-hearted creatures very much like the cork leg in the comic song did on its owner: which, when he had once got started on it, the more he tried to stop it, the more it would run away.——*Speech on Sub-Treasury, Dec. 20, 1839, vol. I, p. 136.*

Not Last, but Never to Desert

Many free countries have lost their liberty, and ours may lose hers; but if she shall, be it my proudest plume, not that I was the last to desert, but that I never deserted her.——*Speech on Sub-treasury, Dec. 20, 1839, vol. I, p. 137.*

Piloting the Ship of State

As a pilot I have used my best exertions to keep afloat our Ship of State, and shall be glad to resign my trust at the appointed time to another pilot more skillful and successful than I may prove.——*Reply to Presbyterian General Assembly, May 30, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 288.*

Save the Country First

Let the friends of the government first save the government and then administer it to their own liking.——*Letter to Henry Winter Davis, Mar. 18, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 229.*

A New Nation Conceived in Liberty

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.——*Gettysburg Address, Nov. 19, 1863, vol. IX, p. 209.*

Putting the Foot Down Firmly

The man does not live who is more devoted to peace than I am, but it may be necessary to put the foot down firmly.——*Address to New Jersey Assembly, Feb. 21, 1861, vol. VI, p. 154.*

Progressive Conservatism

I am very glad the elections this autumn have gone favorably, and that I have not, by native depravity or under evil influences, done anything bad enough to prevent the good result. I hope to "stand firm" enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause. ——*Letter to Zachariah Chandler, Nov. 20, 1863, vol. IX, p. 213.*

Devotion to the Union

I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.——*Address in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1861, vol. VI, p. 156.*

Self-Government and Despotism

When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 227.*

"Buts" and "Ifs" and "Ands"

The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more if he talks ambiguously—talks for his country with "buts," and "ifs," and "ands."——*Letter to Erastus Corning, June 12, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 305.*

Voters Who Vote the Real Power

It is not the qualified voters, but the qualified voters who choose to vote, that constitute the political power of the State.——*Opinion on Admission of West Virginia, Dec. 31, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 157.*

Preservation of Liberty a Duty

If there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never intrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 235.*

Ballots, Not Bullets, Give Victory

To give the victory to the right, not bloody bullets, but peaceful ballots only are necessary. Thanks to our good old Constitution, and organization under it, these alone are necessary. It only needs that

every right thinking man shall go to the polls, and without fear or prejudice vote as he thinks.——*Notes for Speeches, Oct. 1, 1858, vol. IV, p. 235.*

No Appeal from Ballot to Bullet

Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. ——*Letter to James C. Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863, vol. IX, p. 101.*

True Law of Divine Right

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 228.*

Preparation for Tyranny

Familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subject of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.——*Fragment of Speech at Edwardsville, Ill., Sept. 13, 1858, vol. XI, p. 110.*

Individual Rights a Natural Law

I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his

labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights.——*Speech at Chicago, Ill., July 10, 1858, vol. III, p. 35.*

Equality in Society

Equality in society alike beats inequality, whether the latter be of the British aristocratic sort or of the domestic slavery sort.——*On Slavery, July 1, 1854, vol. II, p. 184.*

All Men Created Equal

Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty,—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.——*Letter to Joshua F. Speed, Aug. 24, 1855, vol. II, p. 287.*

The Law of Liberty

I am for the people of the whole nation doing just as they please in all matters which concern the whole nation; for those of each part doing just as

they choose in all matters which concern no other part; and for each individual doing just as he chooses in all matters which concern nobody else.——*Notes for Speeches, Oct. 1, 1858, vol. IV, p. 231.*

Object of Government

The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere.——*On Government, July 1, 1854, vol. II, p. 186.*

Government by Majority

I reiterate that the majority should rule. If I adopt a wrong policy, the opportunity for condemnation will occur in four years' time. Then I can be turned out, and a better man with better views put in my place.——*Address at Steubenville, O., Feb. 14, 1861, vol. VI, p. 123.*

Nature of Political Sovereignty

What is "sovereignty" in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it "a political community without a political superior?"——*Message to Congress, July 4, 1861, vol. VI, p. 315.*

True Popular Sovereignty

I think a definition of "popular sovereignty," in the abstract, would be about this: That each man shall do precisely as he pleases with himself, and with all those things that exclusively concern him . . . that a general government shall do all those things which pertain to it, and all the local governments shall do precisely as they please in respect to those matters which exclusively concern them.——*Speech at Columbus, O., Sept. 16, 1859, vol. V, p. 149.*

French Cook and Potato Soups

Coming to the substance, the first point, "popular sovereignty." It is to be labeled upon the cars in which he travels; put upon the hacks he rides in; to be flaunted upon the arches he passes under, and the banners which wave over him. It is to be dished up in as many varieties as a French cook can produce soups from potatoes.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., July 17, 1858, vol. III, p. 160.*

Equality and Prosperity

When we were the political slaves of King George, and wanted to be free, we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth, but now when we have grown fat, and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be masters that we call the same maxim "a self-evi-

dent lie." The Fourth of July has not quite dwindled away; it is still a great day—for burning firecrackers!!!——*Letter to George Robertson, Aug 15, 1855, vol. II, p. 279.*

Douglas' "Popular Sovereignty"

He discovered that the right to breed and flog negroes in Nebraska was popular sovereignty.——*Speech at Paris, Ill., Sept. 8, 1858, vol. XI, p. 106.*

The Isolation of Genius

Towering genius disdains a beaten path.——*Lyceum Address, Jan. 27, 1837, vol. I, p. 46.*

Smoke the Best Witness

We better know there is fire whence we see much smoke rising than we could know it by one or two witnesses swearing to it. The witnesses may commit perjury, but the smoke cannot.——*Letter to J. R. Underwood and H. Grider, Oct. 26, 1864, vol. X, p. 254.*

Bored by Bad Handwriting

I have already been bored more than enough about it; not the least of which annoyance is his cursed, unreadable, and ungodly handwriting.——*Letter to William H. Herndon, Jan. 19, 1848, vol. I, p. 351.*

Bad Food But Good Medicine

. . . No more I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man because it can be shown to not be good food for a well one.——*Letter to Erastus Corning and Others, June 12, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 309.*

Acquired Appetite for Emetics

No more am I able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.——*Letter to Erastus Corning and Others, June 12, 1863, vol. VIII, p. 310.*

Yankee Pedler's Pantaloons

Like the pair of pantaloons the Yankee peddler offered for sale, "large enough for any man, small enough for any boy."——*Speech at Worcester, Mass., Sept. 12, 1848, vol. II, p. 92.*

Cut Its Own Fodder

Under Mr. Adams and the presidents before him, it [the Post-office] not only, to use a homely phrase, cut its own fodder, but actually threw a surplus into the treasury.——*Speech on the Sub-treasury, Dec. 20, 1839, vol. I, p. 131.*

Adding the Weight of Hogs

This is as plain as adding up the weight of three small hogs.——*Letter to Harrison Maltby, Sept. 8, 1856, vol. II, p. 297.*

Grandson of Milliken's Bend

The writer . . . is a grandson of "Milliken's Bend," near Vicksburg—that is, a grandson of the man who gave name to Milliken's Bend.——*Letter to Sec. Chase, Oct. 26, 1863, vol. IX, p. 183.*

Father of Waters Unvexed

The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea.——*Letter to James C. Conkling, Aug. 26, 1863, vol. IX, p. 100.*

Territories of the Moon

Now this provision . . . had no more direct reference to Nebraska than it had to the territories of the moon.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 213.*

Like a Kicking Gun

This opinion of Mr. Jefferson, in one branch at least, is, in the hands of Mr. Polk, like McFingal's gun—"bears wide and kicks the owner over."——*Speech on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 39.*

Dragging Chestnuts from the Fire

By much dragging of chestnuts from the fire for others to eat, his claws are burnt off to the gristle, and he is thrown aside as unfit for further use.——*Speech at Chicago Banquet, Dec. 10, 1856, vol. II, p. 309.*

Homeopathic Pigeon Soup

Has it not got down as thin as the homeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death?——*Rejoinder at Quincy Debate, Oct. 13, 1858, vol. IV, p. 380.*

Wood Soaked for Ox-Bows

Like wood for ox-bows, they are merely being soaked in it preparatory to the bending.——*Speeches in Kansas, Dec. 1–5, 1859, vol. V, p. 271.*

Well-Known Georgia Costume

If that's the plan, they should begin at the foundation, and adopt the well-known "Georgia costume" of a shirt collar and a pair of spurs.——*Speech at Hartford, Conn., Mar. 5, 1860, vol. V, p. 337.*

Producing Two Blades of Grass

Every blade of grass is a study; and to produce two where there was but one is both a profit and a pleasure.——*Agricultural Address, Sept. 30, 1859, vol. V, p. 253.*

Setting the Human Eel-Trap

The fisherman's wife whose drowned husband was brought home with his body full of eels, said when she was asked what was to be done with him, "Take the eels out and set him again."——*Reply at Galesburg Debate, Oct. 7, 1858, vol. IV, p. 279.*

Irishman and New Boots

How could we make any entirely new improvement by means of tonnage duties? The idea that we could, involves the same absurdity as the Irish bull about the new boots. "I shall never git 'em on," says Patrick, "till I wear 'em a day or two, and stretch 'em a little."——*Lecture on Internal Improvements, June 20, 1848, vol. II, p. 42.*

Pugnacious Exchange of Overcoats

I remember being once much amused at seeing two particularly intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. ——*Letter to H. L. Pierce and Others, Apr. 6, 1859, vol. V, p. 125.*

New Men Made from Old

A fellow once advertised that he had made a discovery by which he could make a new man out of an

old one, and have enough of the stuff left to make a little yellow dog.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 73.*

Starving Between Stacks of Hay

We have all heard of the animal standing in doubt between two stacks of hay and starving to death. The like of that would never happen to General Cass. Place the stacks a thousand miles apart, he would stand stock-still midway between them, and eat them both at once, and the green grass along the line would be apt to suffer some, too.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 83.*

Divided Gangs of Hogs

I have heard some things from New York, and if they are true, one might well say of your party there, as a drunken fellow once said when he heard the reading of an indictment for hog-stealing. The clerk read on till he got to and through the words "did steal, take, and carry away ten boars, ten sows, ten shoats, and ten pigs," at which he exclaimed, "Well, by golly, that is the most equally divided gang of hogs I ever did hear of!" If there is any other gang of hogs more equally divided than the Democrats of New York are about this time, I have not heard of it.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 88.*

First Invention a Joint Operation

The very first invention was a joint operation, Eve having shared with Adam the getting up of the apron. And, indeed, judging from the fact that sewing has come down to our times as "woman's work" it is very probable she took the leading part,—he, perhaps, doing no more than to stand by and thread the needle. That proceeding may be reckoned as the mother of all "sewing societies" and the first and most perfect "World's Fair," all inventions and all inventors then in the world being on the spot.——*Lecture on Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements, Feb. 22, 1859, vol. V, p. 106.*

Last Shriek on Retreat

His idea was that it would be considered our last shriek on the retreat.——*Account of the Emancipation Proclamation, Feb. 6, 1864, vol. X, p. 2.*

Last of Old Serpent's Tail

The last tip of the last joint of the old serpent's tail was just drawing out of view.——*Reply at Alton Debate, Oct. 15, 1858, vol. V, p. 46.*

Who Should be Slaves

I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those

who desire it for themselves, and secondly, those who desire it for others.——*Address to Indiana Regiment, Mar. 17, 1865, vol. XI, p. 56.*

Egypt of the West

They . . . must have access to this Egypt of the West without paying toll.——*Annual Message, Dec. 1, 1862, vol. VIII, p. 115.*

Freedom to Every Creature

If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature.——*Speech at Chicago, Ill., July 10, 1858, vol. III, p. 51.*

Take His Own Medicine

When I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.——*Address to Indiana Regiment, Mar. 17, 1865, vol. XI, p. 56.*

A Durable Struggle for Freedom

I think we have fairly entered upon a durable struggle as to whether this nation is to ultimately become all slave or all free, and though I fall early in the contest, it is nothing if I shall have contributed, in the least degree, to the final restful result.——*Letter to H. D. Sharpe, Dec. 18, 1858, vol. V, p. 96.*

Let Him Enjoy What God Gave

All I ask for the negro is that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., July 17, 1858, vol. III, p. 186.*

Wrecked Negro on the Plank

If it was like two wrecked seamen on a narrow plank, where each must push the other off or drown himself, I would push the negro off,—or a white man either; but it is not: the plank is large enough for both.——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 352.*

To Keep the Jewel of Liberty

They [negroes in Louisiana] would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom.——*Letter to Governor Hahn, Mar. 13, 1864, vol. X, p. 39.*

Neither Slave nor Wife

I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either. I can just leave her alone.——*Speech at Springfield, Ill., June 27, 1857, vol. II, p. 329.*

Small Cures for Great Sores

Our best and greatest men have greatly underestimated the size of this question. They have constantly brought forward small cures for great sores—plasters too small to cover the wound.——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 343.*

Chestnut Horse Argument

Anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse.——*Reply at Ottawa Debate, Aug. 21, 1858, vol. III, p. 229.*

Slavery Founded in Selfishness

Slavery is founded in the selfishness of man's nature—opposition to it in his love of justice.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 238.*

Snake a Jewel, Wen an Ornament

In front of us sat an old gentleman with an enormous wen upon his neck . . . The wen represents slavery upon the neck of this country. . . . Those who think it right would consider the snake a jewel and the wen an ornament.——*Speech at Hartford, Conn., Mar. 5, 1860, vol. V, p. 333.*

Southern Abolition and Northern Slavery

We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North and become tip-top Abolitionists, while some Northern ones go South and become most cruel slave-masters.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 206.*

Cutting Each Other's Throats

How much better . . . than to sink both the things to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats?——*Appeal in Favor of Compensated Emancipation, July 12, 1862, vol. VII, p. 272.*

Every Drop of Blood

If it [the war] continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword.——*Second Inaugural Address, Mar. 4, 1865, vol. XI, p. 46.*

Different Ideas of Liberty

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially if the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the

wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty.——*Address at Sanitary Fair in Baltimore, Apr. 18, 1864, vol. X, p. 77.*

Marks to Endure Forever

The race gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age, which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view, and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone.——*Letter to A. G. Henry, Nov. 19, 1858, vol. V, p. 95.*

Snake in the Children's Bed

If I saw a venomous snake crawling in the road, any man would say I might seize the nearest stick and kill it; but if I found that snake in bed with my children, that would be another question. I might hurt the children more than the snake, and it might bite them. Much more, if I found it in bed with my neighbor's children, and I had bound myself by a solemn compact not to meddle with his children under any circumstances, it would become me to let that particular mode of getting rid of the gentleman alone. But if there was a bed newly made up, to which the children were to be taken, and it was pro-

posed to take a batch of young snakes and put them there with them, I take it no man would say there was any question how I ought to decide.——*Speech at New Haven, Conn., Mar. 6, 1860, vol. V, p. 347.*

Fire from Cake of Tallow

It's a lie, and not a well told one at that. It grins out like a copper dollar . . . as for getting a good, bright passable lie out of him, you might as well try to strike fire from a cake of tallow.——*Letter from the Lost Townships, Aug. 27, 1842, vol. I, p. 226.*

Entangled Head and Tail

In one faculty, at least, there can be no dispute of the gentleman's superiority over me, and most other men; and that is, the faculty of entangling a subject, so that neither himself, nor any other man can find head or tail to it.——*Speech before Illinois Legislature, Jan. [?], 1837, vol. I, p. 20.*

Long and Short of It

Let the judge go on, and after he is done with his half hour, I want you all, if I can't go home myself, to let me stay and rot here; and if anything happens to the judge, if I cannot carry him to the hotel and put him to bed, let me stay here and rot.——*Reply at Jonesboro Debate, Sept. 15, 1858, vol. IV, p. 69.*

No Way to Stop Him

If a man will stand up and assert, and repeat and re-assert, that two and two do not make four, I know nothing in the power of argument that can stop him. I think I can answer the judge so long as he sticks to the premises; but when he flies from them, I cannot work any argument into the consistency of a mental gag and actually close his mouth with it.——*Speech at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, vol. II, p. 262.*

Don't Know What Else to Call Him

I don't want to quarrel with him,—to call him a liar,—but when I come square up to him I don't know what else to call him, if I must tell the truth out.——*Reply at Jonesboro Debate, Sept. 15, 1858, vol. IV, p. 70.*

Reason and Authority

There are two ways of establishing a proposition. One is by trying to demonstrate it upon reason, and the other is, to show that great men in former times have thought so and so, and thus to pass it by the weight of pure authority.——*Speech at Columbus, O., Sept. 16, 1859, vol. V, p. 172.*

Black Hawk Military Hero

Did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir; in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled and

came away. . . . I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and like him, I saw the place very soon afterwards.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 75.*

Marks and Brands Described

I am, in height, six feet four inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average one hundred and eighty pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected.——*Letter to J. W. Fell, Dec. 20, 1859, vol. V. p. 288.*

Loved Flattery but Got Little

I was not very much accustomed to flattery, and it came the sweeter to me. I was rather like the Hoosier with the gingerbread, when he said he reckoned he loved it better than any other man, and got less of it.——*Reply at Ottawa Debate, Aug. 21, 1858, vol. III, p. 238.*

Attention to the Soap Question

Some specimens of your soap have been used at our house and Mrs. L. declares it is a superior article. She at the same time protests that *I* have never given sufficient attention to the "soap question" to be a competent judge.——*Letter to Professor Gardner, Sept. 28, 1860, vol. VI, p. 60.*

Bloody Struggles with Mosquitoes

It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking huckleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live fighting Indians, it was more than I did; but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and although I never fainted from the loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 75.*

Distinction in Congress

As you are all so anxious for me to distinguish myself, I have concluded to do so before long.——*Letter to William H. Herndon, Dec. 13, 1847, vol. I, p. 317.*

Self Distrust and Regained Confidence

I must gain my confidence in my own ability to keep my resolves when they are made. In that ability you know I once prided myself. . . . I have not yet regained it; and until I do, I cannot trust myself in any matter of much importance.——*Letter to J. F. Speed, July 4, 1842, vol. I, p. 218.*

Teaching the "Three R's"

No qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin' and cipherin' " to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard.——*Letter to J. W. Fell, Dec. 20, 1589, vol. V, p. 287.*

Task Greater Than Washington's

I cannot but know what you all know, that without a name, perhaps without a reason why I should have a name, there has fallen upon me a task such as did not rest even upon the Father of his Country. ——*Address to Ohio Legislature at Columbus, O., Feb. 13, 1861, vol. VI, p. 121.*

Hugged by a Russian Bear

Just to think of it! right at the outset of his canvass, I, a poor, kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman —I am to be slain in this way. Why, my friend the judge, is not only, as it turns out, not a dead lion, nor even a living one—he is the rugged Russian bear. ——*Speech at Chicago, Ill., July 10, 1858, vol. III, p. 20.*

Nonsense Hurts Nobody

In my present position it is hardly proper for me to make speeches. Every word is so closely noted

that it will not do to make foolish ones, and I cannot be expected to be prepared to make sensible ones. If I were as I have been for most of my life, I might, perhaps, talk nonsense to you for half an hour, and it wouldn't hurt anybody.——*Remarks at Frederick, Md., Oct. 4, 1862, vol. XI, p. 125.*

Hopeless Effort to Convince

I suppose I cannot reasonably hope to convince you that we have any principles. The most I can expect is to assure you that we think we have, and are quite contented with them.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 70.*

Devotion to the Union

I cannot fly from my thoughts—my solicitude for this great country follows me wherever I go. I do not think it is personal vanity or ambition, though I am not free from these infirmities, but I cannot but feel that the weal or woe of this great nation will be decided in November.——*Interview with John T. Mills, Aug. 15, 1864, vol. X, p. 189.*

Squeezed Out in the Middle

Your discomfited assailants are most bitter against me; and they will, for revenge upon me, lay to the Bates egg in the South, and to the Seward egg in the North, and go far toward squeezing me out in

the middle with nothing. Can you not help me a little in this matter in your end of the vineyard?——*Letter to N. B. Judd, Feb. 9, 1860, vol. V, p. 291.*

An Alexander in Obscurity

I would like to know who is the great Alexander that talks so oracularly about "if the President keeps his word" and Banks not having "capacity to run an omnibus on Broadway?" How has this Alexander's immense light been obscured hitherto?——*Letter to F. P. Blair, Sr., July 30, 1863, vol. IX, p. 49.*

Tied to Military Coat-Tails

All his biographies (and they are legion) have him in hand, tying him to a military tail, like so many mischievous boys tying a dog to a bladder of beans. True, the material they have is very limited, but they drive at it might and main.——*Speech in Congress, July 27, 1848, vol. II, p. 74.*

Hard to Drive Men

It is not much in the nature of man to be driven to anything; still less to be driven about that which is exclusively his own business; and least of all where such driving is to be submitted to at the expense of pecuniary interest or burning appetite.——*Temperance Address, Feb. 22, 1842, vol. I, p. 196.*

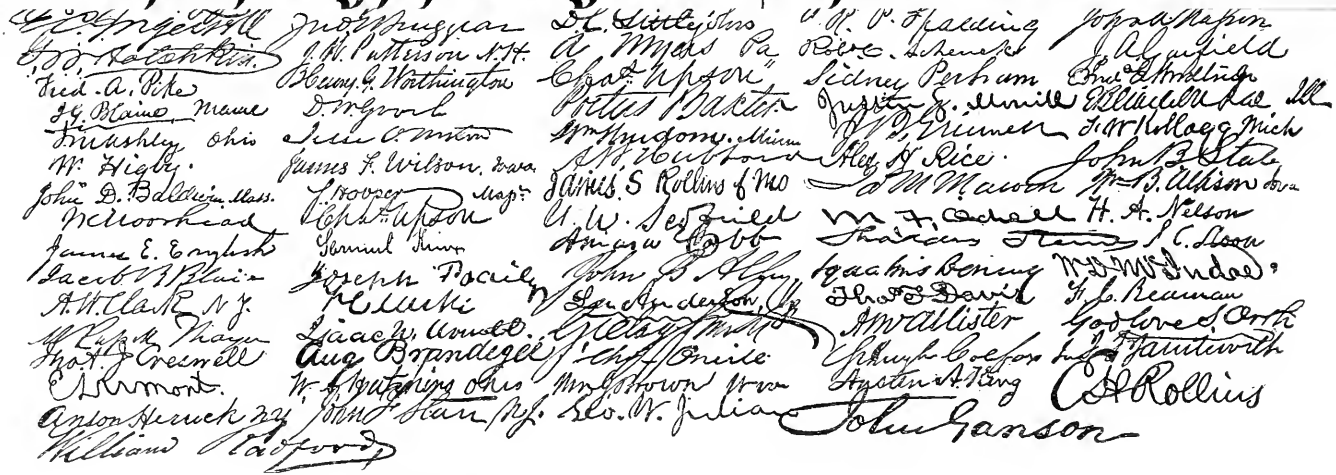
Dread of the Halter

I might procrastinate the evil day for a time, which I really dreaded as much, perhaps more, than an Irishman does the halter.——*Letter to Mrs. O. H. Browning, Apr. 1, 1838, vol. I, p. 90.*

Too Vast for Malice

I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing.——*Letter to Cuthbert Bullitt, July 28, 1862, vol. VII, p. 298.*

Thirty-Eighth Congress of the United States



Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

APPROVED FEBRUARY 1, 1865.

Facsimile of the Joint Resolution with the Official Signatures of the Officers of Congress and of the United States and the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives who Supported the Resolution.

Thirty-Eighth Congress of the United States

A Resolution Submitting to the Legislatures of the Several States a Proposition to Amend the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both Houses concurring), That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the Party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Attest: [signature] Secretary of the Senate. [signature] Clerk of the House of Representatives. Schuyler Colfax Speaker of the House of Representatives. H. Hamlin Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved February 1. 1865 Abraham Lincoln

In the Senate, April 8, 1864.

[signature]

In the House of Representatives, January 31, 1865.

[signature]

Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

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Facsimile of the Joint Resolution with the Official Signatures of the Officers of Congress and of the United States and the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives who Supported the Resolution

Chronological Index

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1832

March —	*Reputed First Political Speech....XI,		97
March 9	Address to the People of Sangamon County, Ill.....I,		1
April 28	Receipt for Arms.....I,		9
Aug. 10	*To E. C. Blankenship.....I,		10

1833-1834

(No date)	Letter and Receipt to George Spears I,		11

1834

Jan. 14	*Certificate of Survey.....I,		12
June —	Report of Road Survey.....I,		12
Nov. 4	*Report of Road Survey.....I,		13

1836

June 13	Announcement of Political Views...I,		14
June 21	To Col. Robert Allen.....I,		15
Dec. 13	To Miss Mary Owens.....I,		17

1837

Jan. —	*Speech before the Illinois Legislature I,		19
Jan. 27	Address before the Young Men's Lyceum.....I,		35

March 3	Protest on the Subject of Slavery	I,	51
May 7	To Miss Mary Owens	I,	52
Aug. 5	*To John Bennett	I,	54
Aug. 16	To Miss Mary Owens	I,	55
Aug. 19	*Hand Bill of the Sangamon Journal	I,	57
Sept. 9	*Lincoln and Talbott Reply to General Adams	I,	65
Oct. 28	*Reply to General Adams	I,	76

1838

April 1	To Mrs. O. H. Browning	I,	87

1839

Jan. 17	Remarks in the Illinois Legislature	I,	92
Feb. 14	*To John T. Stuart	XI,	98
May 11	To A. P. Field	I,	94
June 11	*To "Row" Herndon	I,	95
June 24	*To Editor of the "Chicago American"	I,	96
Nov. 14	To John T. Stuart	I,	98
Dec. (20?)	Speech in Illinois House of Representatives	I,	100
Dec. 23	To John T. Stuart	I,	139

1840

Jan. 1	To John T. Stuart	I,	140
Jan. (1?)	Circular from Whig Committee	I,	142
Jan. 20	To John T. Stuart	I,	146
Jan. 21	To John T. Stuart	I,	147
March 1	To John T. Stuart	I,	148

March 26 To John T. Stuart.....I, 150
Oct. 31 To W. G. Anderson.....I, 151
Nov. 28 Resolution in the Illinois Legislature I, 152
Dec. 4 Remarks in the Illinois Legislature..I, 153
Dec. 4 Remarks in the Illinois Legislature..I, 154
Dec. 17 To John T. Stuart.....I, 156

1841

Jan. 23 Remarks in the Illinois Legislature..I, 156
Jan. 23 To John T. Stuart.....I, 157
Feb. (8?) Circular from Whig Committee....I, 160
Feb. 26 Extract from Protest in the Illinois Legislature.....I, 166
June 19 To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 168
June 25 Statement about Harry Wilton.....I, 175
Sept. 27 To Miss Mary Speed.....I, 177
Oct. 20 Call for Whig State Convention....I, 181

1842

Jan. (3?) To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 182
Feb. 3 To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 185
Feb. 13 To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 187
Feb. 16 *To G. B. Sheledy.....I, 189
Feb. 22 *Extracts from Letter to George E. Pickett .....I, 191
Feb. 22 Address before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society....I, 193
Feb. 25 To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 210
Feb. 25 To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 211
March 27 To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 214
July 4 To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 217

Aug. 15	*To Mr. —— Walker	I, 219
Aug. 27	*Letter from the "Lost Townships" (Rebecca Letter)	I, 221
Aug. 29	Invitation to Henry Clay	I, 231
Sept. 17	Correspondence about the Lincoln-Shields Duel	I, 232
Sept. 19	Memorandum of Instructions to E. H. Merryman	I, 236
Oct. (4?)	To Joshua F. Speed	I, 238
Nov. 2	*To James S. Irwin	XI, 98

1843

March 1	Resolutions at a Whig Meeting at Springfield, Ill.	I, 240
March 4	Circular from Whig Committee	I, 243
March 7	*To John Bennett	I, 259
March 24	To Joshua F. Speed	I, 261
March 26	To Martin M. Morris	I, 262
April 14	To Martin M. Morris	I, 265
May 11	*To Gen. John J. Hardin	I, 266
May 18	To Joshua F. Speed	I, 267

1844

Jan. 16	*Memorandum concerning Transfer of Property	I, 269
May 21	*To Gen. John J. Hardin	I, 270

1845

Jan. 19	*To Gen. John J. Hardin	I, 271
March 1	*To Mr. —— Williams	I, 274
Oct. 3	*To Williamson Durley	I, 275

Nov. 17 To B. F. James.....I, 278
Nov. 24 To B. F. James.....I, 278

1846

Jan. 7 *To Dr. Robert Boal.....I, 280
Jan. 14 To B. F. James.....I, 282
Jan. 15 *To John Bennett.....I, 284
Jan. 16 *To John Bennett.....I, 285
Jan. 16 To B. F. James.....I, 285
Jan. 21 *To N. J. Rockwell.....I, 286
Jan. 27 To B. F. James.....I, 286
April 18 To —— Johnston.....I, 288
April 26 *To James Berdan.....I, 293
May 7 *To James Berdan.....I, 294
Sept. 6 To —— Johnston.....I, 294
Oct. 22 To Joshua F. Speed.....I, 297

1847

Feb. 25 To —— Johnston.....I, 298
Dec. (1?) Fragments of Tariff Discussion.....I, 300
Dec. 5 To William H. Herndon.....I, 315
Dec. 13 To William H. Herndon.....I, 316
Dec. 22 Resolutions in U. S. House of Representatives.....I, 318

1848

Jan. 5 Remarks in the U. S. House of Representatives.....I, 321
Jan. 8 To William H. Herndon.....I, 325
Jan. 12 Speech in U. S. House of Representatives.....I, 327

Jan 19	Report in U. S. House of Representatives ..... I,	348
Jan 19	To William H. Herndon ..... I,	350
Feb. 1	To William H. Herndon ..... I,	351
Feb. 2	To William H. Herndon ..... I,	354
Feb. 13	*To Josephus Hewett ..... I,	355
Feb. 15	To William H. Herndon ..... II,	1
Feb. 20	To U. F. Linder ..... II,	3
March 9	Report in U. S. House of Representatives ..... II,	4
March 9	Report in U. S. House of Representatives ..... II,	10
March 24	To David Lincoln ..... II,	11
March 29	Remarks in U. S. House of Representatives ..... II,	12
April 2	To David Lincoln ..... II,	14
April 30	To E. B. Washburne ..... II,	16
April 30	To Archibald Williams ..... II,	17
May 11	Remarks in U. S. House of Representatives ..... II,	18
May 21	To Rev. J. M. Peck ..... II,	23
June 12	To Archibald Williams ..... II,	26
June 20	Speech in U. S. House of Representatives ..... II,	28
June 22	To William H. Herndon ..... II,	49
June 27	To Horace Greeley ..... II,	53
June 28	Remarks in U. S. House of Representatives ..... II,	54
July (1?)	Fragment on what General Taylor ought to say ..... II,	55
July 10	To William H. Herndon ..... II,	56

July 10 *To S. A. Hurlbut.....II, 58
July 27 Speech in U. S. House of Representatives .....II, 59
Sept. 12 *Report of Speech at Worcester, Mass. .....II, 89
Dec. 24 To Thomas Lincoln.....II, 96

1849

Jan. 16 Bill to Abolish Slavery in District of Columbia.....II, 96
Feb. 2 To William Schouler.....II, 100
Feb. 13 Remarks in U. S. House of Representatives .....II, 101
Feb. 20 To Joshua F. Speed.....II, 104
March 9 To Secretary of Treasury.....II, 105
March 10 To Secretary of State.....II, 106
April 7 To Secretary of Interior.....II, 107
April 7 To Secretary of Interior.....II, 108
April 7 To Post-Master General.....II, 109
April 7 To W. B. Warren and Others....II, 110
April 7 To Secretary of Interior.....II, 112
April 25 To —— Thompson.....II, 113
April 25 To J. M. Lucas.....II, 114
May (1?) Indorsement concerning Orville Paddock .....II, 115
May 1 *To C. B. Smith.....XI, 99
May 10 To Secretary of Interior.....II, 115
May 18 To Duff Green.....II, 118
May 19 *To Joseph Gillespie.....II, 119
May (22?) *Application for a Patent.....II, 120
May 25 To E. Embree .....II, 121

June 3 *To Secretary of Interior.....II, 122
June 5 To William H. Herndon.....II, 122
June 5 Letter asking for Recommendation.II, 123
June 8 To Nathaniel Pope.....II, 124
July 13 *To Joseph Gillespie.....II, 124
Sept. (12?) Resolutions of Sympathy with the Cause of Hungarian Freedom...II, 127
Sept. 14 *To Dr. William Fithian.....II, 128
Sept. 27 To John Addison.....II, 129
Sept. 27 *To J. M. Clayton.....II, 130
Nov. 21 To Editor of "Chicago Journal".II, 131
Dec. 15 To —— .....II, 133

1850

Jan. 29 *To O. H. Browning.....II, 134
Feb. 23 To John D. Johnston.....II, 135
June 3 Resolutions on the Death of Nathaniel Pope.....II, 135
July (1?) Fragment. Notes for a Lecture...II, 138
July (1?) Fragment. Notes for a Law Lecture .....II, 140

1851

Jan. (2?) To John D. Johnston.....II, 144
Jan. 11 *To Charles Hoyt.....II, 146
Jan. 12 To John D. Johnston.....II, 147
March 28 *To Messrs. Browning and Bushnell II, 149
Aug. 31 To John D. Johnston.....II, 149
Nov. 4 To John D. Johnston.....II, 150
Nov. 9 To John D. Johnston.....II, 152

Nov. 25 *To John D. Johnston.....II, 152
Dec. (4?) Call for Whig Convention.....II, 154

1852

July 16 Eulogy on Henry Clay, at Springfield, Ill.....II, 155
Nov. 1 Opinion on the Illinois Election Law II, 177

1853

May 12 *To Joshua R. Stanford.....II, 178
Oct. 3 To M. Brayman.....II, 179

1854

April 1 To Jesse Lincoln.....II, 180
July (1?) Fragment. On Government.....II, 182
July (1?) Fragment. On Slavery.....II, 183
July (1?) Fragment. On Slavery.....II, 184
July (1?) Fragment. On Slavery.....II, 186
July (1?) Fragment. On Government.....II, 186
Sept. 7 *To J. M. Palmer.....II, 187
Sept. 7 *To A. B. Moreau.....XI, 100
Oct. 16 Speech at Peoria, Ill., replying to Senator Douglas.....II, 190
Nov. 10 *To Charles Hoyt.....II, 262
Nov. 27 To T. J. Henderson.....II, 263
Nov. 27 To I. Codding.....II, 264
Dec. 1 *To Joseph Gillespie.....II, 265
Dec. 6 To Justice John McLean.....II, 266
Dec. 11 To E. B. Washburne.....II, 266
Dec. 14 To E. B. Washburne.....II, 267

Dec. 15 To T. J. Henderson.....II, 268
Dec. 19 To E. B. Washburne.....II, 269

1855

Jan. 6 To E. B. Washburne.....II, 271
Feb. 9 To E. B. Washburne.....II, 274
March 10 *To Sanford, Porter and Striker....II, 278
March 23 *To O. H. Browning.....XI, 100
June 7 *To Henry C. Whitney.....XI, 101
Aug. 15 To George Robertson.....II, 278
Aug. 24 To Joshua F. Speed.....II, 281
Dec. 13 To —— .....II, 288
Dec. (15?) Bill against Central R. R. Co. of Illinois .....II, 288

1856

Feb. 13 *To R. P. Morgan.....II, 289
June 27 To John Van Dyke.....II, 289
July 9 To —— Whitney.....II, 290
July 12 *To William Grimes.....II, 290
Aug. (1?) Fragment of Speech at Galena, Ill..II, 292
Aug. 4 *To John Bennett.....II, 295
Aug. 19 *To Jesse K. Dubois.....II, 296
Sept. 8 To Harrison Maltby.....II, 297
Sept. 14 *To Dr. Robert Boal.....II, 298
Sept. 14 *To Henry O'Connor.....II, 299
Oct. 1 Fragment. On Sectionalism.....II, 299
Dec. 10 Fragment of Speech at Republican Banquet, Chicago.....II, 308
Dec. 15 *To O. H. Browning.....II, 312
Dec. 25 *To Dr. Robert Boal.....II, 313

1857

Feb. 20	*To John E. Rosette	II, 313
June 26	Speech at Springfield, Ill	II, 315
Aug. —	*To William Grimes	II, 339
Sept. 24	*Argument in the Rock Island Bridge Case	II, 340
Dec. 18	*To Henry C. Whitney	XI, 102
Dec. 21	*To Jesse K. Dubois	II, 354

1858

Jan. 19	*To Joseph Gillespie	II, 354
Feb. 7	*To Joseph Gillespie	II, 355
Feb. 19	*To Edward G. Miner	II, 355
Feb. 25	*To Mark Carley	XI, 104
April 26	To E. B. Washburne	II, 356
May 10	To J. M. Lucas	II, 358
May 10	*To E. B. Washburne	II, 359
May 15	To E. B. Washburne	II, 360
May 27	To E. B. Washburne	II, 361
June 1	To Charles L. Wilson	II, 362
June 1	*To S. A. Hurlbut	II, 364
June 11	*To Ward H. Lamon	II, 365
June 15	Notes of Argument in Law Case	II, 366
June (15?)	Brief Autobiography	II, 368
June 16	Speech in Springfield, Ill	III, 1
June 19	*To Sydney Spring	III, 15
June 24	*To Henry C. Whitney	XI, 104
June 25	To J. W. Somers	III, 16
June 25	To A. Campbell	III, 17
July 7	To J. J. Crittenden	III, 17
July 10	Speech at Chicago, Ill	III, 19

July 16	*To Joseph Gillespie.....III,	52
July 16	*Speech at Bloomington, Ill., by Senator Douglas.....III,	54
July 17	*Speech at Springfield, Ill., by Senator Douglas .....III,	108
July 17	Speech at Springfield, Ill.....III,	155
July 20	*To John Mathers.....III,	188
July 24	Challenge to the Joint Debates...III,	189
July 25	*To Joseph Gillespie.....III,	192
July 29-31	Preliminary Correspondence to the Joint Debates.....III,	193
July 31	To H. Asbury.....III,	197
Aug. 2	*To B. C. Cook.....III,	198
Aug. 5	*To J. M. Palmer.....III,	199
Aug. 11	*To Alexander Sympson.....III,	199
Aug. 21	First Joint Debate, at Ottawa, Ill. Speech by Senator Douglas....III,	200
Aug. 21	Lincoln's Reply in the Ottawa Joint Debate .....III,	223
Aug. 21	Senator Douglas' Rejoinder in the Ottawa Joint Debate.....III,	258
Aug. 22	To J. O. Cunningham.....III,	270
Aug. 27	Second Joint Debate, at Freeport, Ill. Speech by Lincoln.....III,	271
Aug. 22	Senator Douglas' Reply in Freeport Joint Debate.....III,	293
Aug. 22	Lincoln's Rejoinder in the Freeport Joint Debate.....III,	335
Sept. 3	*To Dr. William Fithian.....III,	347
Sept. —	*Speech at Clinton, Ill.....III,	349
Sept. 8	*Fragment of Speech at Paris, Ill..XI,	105

Sept. 13	*Fragment of Speech at Edwardsville, Ill.	XI, 106
Sept. 15	Third Joint Debate, at Jonesboro, Ill. Speech by Senator Douglas.	IV, 1
Sept. 15	Lincoln's Reply in the Jonesboro Joint Debate.....	IV, 31
Sept. 15	Senator Douglas' Rejoinder in the Jonesboro Joint Debate.....	IV, 71
Sept. (16?)	Fragment. Notes for Speeches....	IV, 88
Sept. 18	Fourth Joint Debate, at Charleston, Ill. Speech by Lincoln.....	IV, 89
Sept. 18	Senator Douglas' Reply in the Charleston Joint Debate.....	IV, 142
Sept. 18	Lincoln's Rejoinder in the Charleston Joint Debate.....	IV, 184
Sept. 25	Order for Furniture.....	IV, 199
(Oct. 1?)	Fragment. Notes for Speeches...	IV, 200
(Oct. 1?)	Fragment. Notes for Speeches...	IV, 201
(Oct. 1?)	Fragment. Notes for Speeches...	IV, 203
(Oct. 1?)	Fragment. Notes for Speeches...	IV, 212
(Oct. 1?)	Fragment. Notes for Speeches...	IV, 225
Oct. 7	Fifth Joint Debate, at Galesburg, Ill. Speech by Senator Douglas.....	IV, 237
Oct. 7	Lincoln's Reply in the Galesburg Joint Debate.....	IV, 262
Oct. 7	Senator Douglas' Rejoinder in the Galesburg Joint Debate.....	IV, 297
Oct. 13	Sixth Joint Debate, at Quincy, Ill. Speech by Lincoln.....	IV, 311
Oct. 13	Senator Douglas' Reply in the Quincy Joint Debate.....	IV, 335

Oct. 13	Lincoln's Rejoinder in the Quincy Joint Debate.....IV,	373
Oct. 15	Last Joint Debate, at Alton, Ill. Speech by Senator Douglas.....V,	1
Oct. 15	Lincoln's Reply at Alton Joint Debate.....V,	29
Oct. 15	Senator Douglas' Rejoinder at Alton Joint Debate.....V,	72
Oct. (15?)	Fragment. Opinion on Election Laws of Illinois.....V,	86
Oct. 18	*To James N. Brown.....V,	87
Oct. 26	*To A. Simpson.....V,	89
Oct. 30	To E. Lusk.....V,	90
Nov. 4	To J. J. Crittenden.....V,	90
Nov. 15	To N. B. Judd.....V,	91
Nov. 16	To N. B. Judd.....V,	93
Nov. 19	To H. Asbury.....V,	94
Nov. 19	To A. G. Henry.....V,	94
Nov. 20	*To Dr. C. H. Ray.....XI,	111
Nov. 25	To J. A. Matteson.....V,	96
Nov. 30	*To Henry C. Whitney.....XI,	112
Dec. (1?)	*Notes of an Argument.....XI,	112
Dec. 2	*To James T. Thornton.....XI,	114
Dec. 8	*To H. D. Sharpe.....V,	96
Dec. 12	*To Alexander Sympson.....V,	97
Dec. 25	*To Henry C. Whitney.....XI,	114

1859

Jan. 6	*Legal Opinion.....V,	97
Feb. (22?)	Lecture on "Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements".....V,	99

March 1	Speech at Chicago on the Night of the Municipal Election	V, 114
March 28	To W. M. Morris	V, 124
April 6	To H. L. Pierce and Others	V, 124
April 16	To T. J. Pickett	V, 127
May 14	To M. W. Delahay	V, 128
May 17	To Dr. Theodore Canisius	V, 129
July 6	To Schuyler Colfax	V, 131
July 11	To James Miller, Treasurer of Illinois	V, 133
July 27	To Samuel Galloway	V, 134
July 28	To Samuel Galloway	V, 136
Sept. 6	*To Hawkins Taylor	V, 138
Sept. 16	Speech at Columbus, O	V, 140
Sept. 17	Speech at Cincinnati, O	V, 190
Sept. 30	Annual Address before Wisconsin Agricultural Society	V, 236
Oct. 11	To Dr. Edward Wallace	V, 256
Nov. 1	To W. E. Frazer	V, 257
Nov. 2	*To Dr. —— ——	V, 258
Nov. 13	To James A. Riggs	V, 258
Dec. —	*Fragment of Speech at Leavenworth, Kans.	XI, 115
Dec. 1-5	Speeches in Kansas	V, 260
Dec. 9	To N. B. Judd	V, 281
Dec. 14	To N. B. Judd	V, 282
Dec. 14	To George W. Dole, G. S. Hubbard and W. H. Brown	V, 283
Dec. 19	To G. M. Parsons and Others	V, 285
Dec. 20	Autobiographical Sketch Written for J. W. Fell	V, 286

1860

Jan. 24	To J. W. Sheahan.....V,	289
Feb. 5	To N. B. Judd.....V,	290
Feb. 9	To N. B. Judd.....V,	290
Feb. 9	To J. M. Lucas.....V,	291
Feb. 13	*To Mr. —— White.....V,	292
Feb. 27	Address at Cooper Institute, New York City.....V,	293
March 5	Abstract of Speech at Hartford, Conn. .....V,	329
March 6	Speech at New Haven, Conn.....V,	339
March 9	Abstract of Speech at Norwich, Conn. .....VI,	1
March 14	*To Alexander W. Harvey.....VI,	5
March 16	To —— —— .....VI,	5
March 17	To J. W. Somers.....VI,	6
March 17	To E. Stafford.....VI,	7
March 24	To Samuel Galloway.....VI,	7
April 6	To C. F. McNeil.....VI,	8
April 14	To —— —— .....VI,	10
April 21	*To Hawkins Taylor.....VI,	10
May 12	To Dr. Edward Wallace.....VI,	11
May 16-18	Platform of Republican National Convention at Chicago, Ill.....VI,	15
May 19	Reply to Committee notifying Lincoln of his Nomination for President .....VI,	12
May 21	To J. R. Giddings.....VI,	13
May 23	To George Ashmun and the Republican National Convention.....VI,	14
May 26	To E. B. Washburne.....VI,	20

May 26	To Salmon P. Chase	VI,	20
May 26	*To C. B. Smith	VI,	21
May 28	*To Samuel Haycraft	VI,	21
(June?)	Reply prepared by Lincoln as Answer to Numerous Letters	VI,	22
June (1?)	Short Autobiography written for a Friend	VI,	24
June 4	*To George Ashmun	VI,	38
June 4	*To Samuel Haycraft	VI,	39
June 14	Autobiographical Memorandum given to Hicks	VI,	40
June 19	*To Samuel Galloway	VI,	40
June 28	To William Cullen Bryant	VI,	42
July 4	To A. G. Henry	VI,	42
July 18	To Hannibal Hamlin	VI,	44
July 20	To Cassius M. Clay	VI,	44
July 21	To A. Jonas	VI,	45
Aug. 10	*To C. B. Smith	VI,	47
Aug. 10	To Cassius M. Clay	VI,	47
Aug. 14	To T. A. Cheney	VI,	48
Aug. 14	Remarks at Springfield, Ill	VI,	49
Aug. 15	To John B. Fry	VI,	50
Aug. 16	*To Samuel Haycraft	VI,	51
Aug. 17	To Thurlow Weed	VI,	51
Aug. 23	*To Samuel Haycraft	VI,	52
Aug. 27	To C. H. Fisher	VI,	53
Aug. 31	*To John ——	VI,	54
Sept. 4	To Hannibal Hamlin	VI,	54
Sept. 9	To E. B. Washburne	VI,	55
Sept. 20	*To N. Sargent	VI,	56
Sept. 21	To John Chrisman	VI,	56

Sept. 22	To A. G. Henry	VI,	57
Sept. 22	To G. Yoke Tams	VI,	58
Sept. 25	To T. M. Brockman	VI,	59
Sept. 27	*To J. E. Harvey	VI,	59
Sept. 28	*To Professor Gardner	VI,	60
Oct. 1	To J. H. Reed	VI,	60
Oct. 2	*To J. E. Harvey	VI,	61
Oct. 10	*To William H. Herndon	VI,	62
Oct. 15	*Extract from a Letter to L. Montgomery Bond	VI,	62
Oct. 19	To Miss Grace Bedell	VI,	63
Oct. 23	To William S. Spear	VI,	63
Oct. 24	*To J. C. Lee	VI,	64
Oct. 26	*To Maj. David Hunter	VI,	65
Oct. 29	*To Mrs. S. A. Hurlbut	VI,	65
Oct. 29	To George D. Prentice	VI,	66
Nov. 8	To Hannibal Hamlin	VI,	68
Nov. 9	To Gen. Winfield Scott	VI,	68
Nov. 10	To Truman Smith	VI,	68
Nov. 13	*To Samuel Haycraft	VI,	69
Nov. 16	To N. P. Paschall	VI,	70
Nov. 19	*To Henry Asbury	VI,	71
Nov. 20	Remarks at Meeting at Springfield, Ill.	VI,	72
Nov. 27	To Hannibal Hamlin	VI,	72
Nov. 27	*To F. R. Jackson	VI,	73
Nov. 28	To Henry J. Raymond	VI,	74
Nov. 30	To A. H. Stephens	VI,	75
Dec. 8	To Hannibal Hamlin	VI,	75
Dec. 8	To William H. Seward	VI,	76
Dec. 8	To William H. Seward (*Private*)	VI,	76

Dec. 11	Reply to a Letter from William Kellogg	VI,	77
Dec. 12	Short Editorial in "Illinois Journal."	VI,	78
Dec. 13	To E. B. Washburne	VI,	78
Dec. 15	To John A. Gilmer	VI,	79
Dec. 17	To Thurlow Weed	VI,	82
Dec. 18	To Edward Bates	VI,	83
Dec. 18	*To Henry J. Raymond	VI,	83
Dec. 21	To E. B. Washburne	VI,	84
Dec. 22	*Memorandum regarding Fugitive Slave Clause in Constitution	XI,	115
Dec. 22	To Alexander H. Stephens	VI,	85
Dec. 22	*To Maj. David Hunter	VI,	86
Dec. 24	To Hannibal Hamlin	VI,	86
Dec. 24	*To I. N. Morris	VI,	87
Dec. 28	To Lyman Trumbull	VI,	87
Dec. 28	To Gen. Duff Green	VI,	88
Dec. 29	To William Cullen Bryant	VI,	89
Dec. 31	To Salmon P. Chase	VI,	90
Dec. 31	To Simon Cameron	VI,	90

1861

Jan. 3	To William H. Seward	VI,	90
Jan. 3	To Simon Cameron	VI,	91
Jan. 11	To Gen. Winfield Scott	VI,	92
Jan. 11	To J. T. Hale	VI,	93
Jan. 12	To William H. Seward	VI,	94
Jan. 13	To Simon Cameron and Inclosure	VI,	97
Jan. 14	To Gen. John E. Wool	VI,	98
Jan. 22	*Card to Gen. E. H. Ripley	XI,	116

Jan. 23	To Gen. Edwin C. Wilson	VI, 98
Jan. 26	To R. A. Cameron, Marsh and Branham, Committee	VI, 99
Jan. 28	To James Sulgrove, Erie Locke, William Wallace and John T. Wood, Committee	VI, 100
Jan. 28	To J. W. Tillman	VI, 100
Jan. 28	To Edward Bates	VI, 101
Feb. 1	To Gov. E. D. Morgan	VI, 101
Feb. 1	To William H. Seward	VI, 102
Feb. 4	To Thurlow Weed	VI, 104
Feb. 4	To Gov. E. D. Morgan	VI, 105
Feb. 5	To Edward Bates	VI, 106
Feb. 6	To Charles S. Olden	VI, 106
Feb. 7	To the Governor and Legislature of Massachusetts	VI, 107
Feb. 7	To William Dennison	VI, 107
Feb. 7	To J. G. Lowe, T. A. Phillips and W. H. Gillespie, Committee	VI, 108
Feb. 8	To George B. Senter and Others, Committee	VI, 108
Feb. 8	To A. D. Finney and Others, Committee	VI, 109
Feb. 11	Farewell Address upon leaving Springfield, Ill.	VI, 110
Feb. 11	Reply to Address of Welcome at Indianapolis, Ind.	VI, 111
Feb. 12	Address to Legislature of Indiana at Indianapolis	VI, 112
Feb. 12	Address to Mayor and Citizens of Cincinnati, O.	VI, 115

Feb. 12	Address to Germans at Cincinnati, Ohio	VI, 119
Feb. 13	Address to Legislature of Ohio at Columbus	VI, 121
Feb. 14	Address at Steubenville, O	VI, 122
Feb. 15	Address at Pittsburg, Pa	VI, 124
Feb. 15	Address at Cleveland, O	VI, 129
Feb. 16	Address at Buffalo, N. Y	VI, 132
Feb. 18	Address at Rochester, N. Y	VI, 135
Feb. 18	Address at Syracuse, N. Y	VI, 135
Feb. 18	Address at Utica, N. Y	VI, 136
Feb. 18	Reply to Mayor of Albany, N. Y	VI, 136
Feb. 18	Reply to Gov. E. D. Morgan at Albany, N. Y	VI, 138
Feb. 18	Address to Legislature of New York	VI, 139
Feb. 19	Address at Troy, N. Y	VI, 142
Feb. 19	Address at Poughkeepsie, N. Y	VI, 142
Feb. 19	Address at Hudson, N. Y	VI, 144
Feb. 19	Address at Peekskill, N. Y	VI, 145
Feb. 19	Address at New York City	VI, 145
Feb. 20	Reply to Mayor of New York City	VI, 149
Feb. 21	Address to Senate of New Jersey	VI, 150
Feb. 21	Address to Assembly of New Jersey	VI, 152
Feb. 21	Reply to Mayor of Philadelphia, Pa.	VI, 154
Feb. 22	Address in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa	VI, 156
Feb. 22	Address on Raising Flag over Independence Hall	VI, 159

Feb. 22	Reply to Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania	VI, 160
Feb. 22	Address to Legislature of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg	VI, 162
Feb. 27	Reply to Mayor of Washington, D. C.	VI, 165
Feb. 28	Reply to Serenade at Washington, D. C.	VI, 166
March 1	To William H. Seward	VI, 168
March 4	First Inaugural Address	VI, 169
March 4	To William H. Seward	VI, 185
March 5	*Reply to Pennsylvania Delegation	XI, 116
March 5	*Reply to Massachusetts Delegation	XI, 118
March 7	To Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 186
March 7	Reply to Diplomatic Corps	VI, 186
March 8	To Schuyler Colfax	VI, 187
March 9	Order to Gen. Winfield Scott	VI, 188
March 9	To Gen. Winfield Scott	VI, 188
March 11	To Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 189
March 12	*To Post-Master General	VI, 190
March 12	*To Jacob Collamer	XI, 119
March 13	To Post-Master General	VI, 190
March 13	To —— ——	VI, 191
March 13	To Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 191
March 14	To Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 191
March 15	Note asking Cabinet Opinions on Fort Sumter	VI, 192
March 16	Message to U. S. Senate	VI, 221
March 16	Reply to Minister of Nicaragua	VI, 222
March 18	To Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 223

March 18	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VI, 224
March 18	To Secretary Gideon Welles	VI, 225
March 18	To Attorney-General Edward Bates	VI, 225
March 19	*To Master George Evans Patten	XI, 119
March 26	Message to U. S. Senate	VI, 225
March 29	Order to Secretary of War	VI, 226
March 29	Opinions by Members of the Cabinet on Fort Sumter	VI, 227
March 30	*To John T. Stuart	VI, 231
April 1	Order to Lieut. D. D. Porter	VI, 232
April 1	Instructions to Lieut. D. D. Porter	VI, 232
April 1	Order to Com. Andrew H. Foote	VI, 233
April 1	Order to Officers of Army and Navy	VI, 233
April 1	Memorandum from Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 234
April 1	Reply to Secretary William H. Seward's Memorandum	VI, 236
April 1	To Gen. Winfield Scott	VI, 238
April 2	Order to Captain Samuel Mercer	VI, 238
April 2	*Order on Secretary of State	VI, 239
April 3	Order to Lieutenant-Colonel Keyes	VI, 239
April 4	Instructions to Maj. Robert Anderson	VI, 239
April 6	Instructions to R. S. Chew	VI, 241
April 10	*To Secretary of War	VI, 242
April 11	*Authorization of a Washington Newspaper	VI, 242
April 13	Reply to a Committee from Virginia Convention	VI, 243

April 15	Proclamation calling for 75,000 Militia and convening Congress.	VI, 246
April 19	Proclamation of Blockade	VI, 248
April 20	Reply to Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown	VI, 251
April 20	To Governor Hicks	VI, 252
April 22	To Governor of Maryland from Secretary of State	VI, 252
April 24	To Reverdy Johnson	VI, 254
April 25	Order to Gen. Winfield Scott	VI, 255
April 27	Proclamation of Blockade	VI, 256
April 27	Order to Gen. Winfield Scott	VI, 258
April 29	*To Secretary of Interior	VI, 258
May (1?)	Unsigned draft of Letter to Governor of Tennessee	VI, 258
May 1	To Maj. Robert Anderson	VI, 260
May 1	To George W. Caldwell	VI, 260
May 1	To Gustavus V. Fox	VI, 261
May 3	Proclamation calling for 42,034 Volunteers	VI, 263
May 6	To Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin	VI, 265
May 6	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VI, 266
May 6	To —— Johnson from John Hay	VI, 266
May 6	To Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 267
May 7	Order to Col. Robert Anderson	VI, 267
May 8	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VI, 268
May 9	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VI, 269
May 10	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VI, 269
May 10	Unsigned Letter to Gov. William Sprague	VI, 270

May 10	Proclamation suspending Writ of Habeas Corpus in Florida	VI, 271
May 11	Order to Secretary Gideon Welles	VI, 272
May 13	To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 273
May 16	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VI, 273
May 18	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VI, 274
May 18	To Col. F. P. Blair	VI 275
May 21	President's Corrections of a Diplomatic Dispatch Written by the Secretary of State	VI, 277
May 21	*To J. A. McClernand	VI, 286
May 22	*To Gov. E. D. Morgan	VI, 286
May 25	To Colonel Ellsworth's Parents	VI, 287
May 27	To Gen. W. S. Harney from Adjutant-General	VI, 288
May 27	*Dispatch to Col. W. A. Bartlett	VI, 289
June 5	To Gen. Winfield Scott	VI, 290
June 13	*To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 291
June 13	*To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 291
June 17	*To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 291
June 17	*To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 292
June 17	*From Gov. O. P. Morton	VI, 292
June 19	To Gen. J. K. F. Mansfield	VI, 293
June 20	To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 294
June 29	*To Kentucky Delegation	VI, 294
July 2	Order authorizing General Scott to suspend Writ of Habeas Corpus	VI, 295
July 3	To Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 296
July 4	Message to Congress in Special Session	VI, 297
July 6	*To Secretary Caleb B. Smith	VI, 325

July 10	Memorandum to Gen. S. B. Buckner	VI, 325
July 11	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VI, 326
July 15	Memorandum about Defeat at Vienna, Va.	VI, 327
July 16	Message to Congress	VI, 329
July 18	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VI, 329
July 19	To Adjutant-General	XI, 120
July 19	*To Secretary William H. Seward	VI, 330
July 19	Message to Congress	VI, 330
July 23	Memoranda of Military Policy suggested by Bull Run Defeat	VI, 331
July 24	*Order to Governor of New Jersey	VI, 333
July 25	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VI, 334
July 25	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VI, 334
July 27	Message to U. S. Senate	VI, 334
July 27	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VI, 335
July 30	Message to U. S. Senate	VI, 335
July 30	Message to U. S. Senate	VI, 335
Aug. 1	To the Tycoon of Japan	VI, 336
Aug. 1	To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 337
Aug. 2	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VI, 337
Aug. 3	To Governor of Missouri	VI, 338
Aug. 5	Message to U. S. Senate	VI, 338
Aug. 5	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VI, 339
Aug. 7	To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 339

Aug. 8	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VI, 340
Aug. 12	Proclamation of a National Fast Day	VI, 341
Aug. 15	To Gov. O. P. Morton	VI, 343
Aug. 15	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VI, 344
Aug. 15	To John A. Gurley	VI, 344
Aug. 15	*To James Pollock	VI, 344
Aug. 16	Proclamation forbidding Intercourse with Rebel States	VI, 345
Aug. 17	To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 348
Aug. 24	To Gov. B. Magoffin	VI, 349
Sept. 2	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VI, 350
Sept. 9.	To Gen. David Hunter	VI, 352
Sept. 11	Telegram to Governors Washburne, Fairbanks, Berry, Andrew, Buckingham and Sprague	VI, 352
Sept. 11	Order to Gen. John C. Frémont	VI, 353
Sept. 12	To Mrs. Frémont	VI, 354
Sept. 12	To Joseph Holt	VI, 354
Sept. (15?)	Indorsement on Letter of John W. Davis	VI, 355
Sept. 16	To Gen. Winfield Scott	VI, 356
Sept. 17	*Indorsement on Paper	VI, 356
Sept. 18	To Secretary Simon Cameron	VI, 356
Sept. 22	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VI, 357
Sept. 22	To O. H. Browning	VI, 357
Sept. 24	Memorandum about Guns	VI, 361
Sept. 29	To. Gov. O. P. Morton	VII, 1
Sept. 30	*To Gen. Winfield Scott	VII, 3
Oct. (1?)	Memorandum for a Plan of Campaign	VII, 3

Oct. 4	*To Secretary William H. Seward.	VII,	6
Oct. 10	*Memorandum to Secretary Simon Cameron	VII,	6
Oct. 11	To Viceroy of Egypt	VII,	7
Oct. 14	Order suspending Writ of Habeas Corpus	VII,	8
Oct. 14	*To Secretary Caleb B. Smith	VII,	8
Oct. 17	*To Major Ramsey	XI,	120
Oct. 21	To Archbishop John Hughes	VII,	8
Oct. 24	To Gen. S. R. Curtis, with Inclosures	VII,	9
Oct. 24	To Commander of Department of the West	VII,	11
Nov. 1	Order retiring Gen. Winfield Scott	VII,	13
Nov. 6	Order approving Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble's Plan	VII,	15
Nov. 10	To Gen. J. A. McClernand	VII,	18
Nov. 18	To George Bancroft	VII,	20
Nov. 18	*To Gen. Hiram Walbridge	VII,	21
Nov. 21	*To Governor Walker	XI,	120
Nov. (26?)	Draft of a Proposed Bill for Compensated Abolishment in Delaware	VII,	21
Nov. 27	Memorandum of Advice to Mrs. Douglas	VII,	23
Dec. (1?)	Inquiries about Potomac Campaign	VII,	24
Dec. 2	Order authorizing Gen. H. W. Halleck to suspend Writ of Habeas Corpus	VII,	26

Dec. 3	Annual Message to Congress	VII,	28
Dec. 4	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII,	61
Dec. 4	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII,	61
Dec. 6	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII,	61
Dec. 9	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII,	62
Dec. (10?)	Draft of Despatch proposing Arbitration in Trent Affair	VII,	63
Dec. 14	Message to U. S. Senate	VII,	65
Dec. 17	Message to Congress	VII,	66
Dec. 20	Message to Congress	VII,	66
Dec. 23	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII,	67
Dec. 30	Message to Congress	VII,	67
Dec. 31	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII,	68
Dec. 31	*To Maj.-Gen. David Hunter	VII,	68

1862

Jan. 1	To Gen. D. C. Buell	VII,	70
Jan. 1	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII,	70
Jan. 1	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII,	71
Jan. 2	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VII,	71
Jan. 2	Message to Congress	VII,	72
Jan. 4	To Gen. D. C. Buell	VII,	72
Jan. 6	To Gen. D. C. Buell	VII,	73
Jan. 7	To Gen. D. C. Buell	VII,	74
Jan. 9	Indorsement about Allotment Commissioners for Iowa	VII,	74
Jan. 10	Message to Congress	VII,	75

Jan. 10	Indorsement on Letter from Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII,	75
Jan. 11	Correspondence relating to Resignation of Secretary Simon Cameron VII,	79
Jan. 13	To Gen. D. C. Buell.....VII,	83
Jan. 15	To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII,	85
Jan. 15	To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII,	85
Jan. 16	*Card to Secretary of Treasury....XI,	122
Jan. 17	Message to Congress.....VII,	86
Jan. 20	*Order to Gen. George B. McClellan .....VII,	87
Jan. 22	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton..VII,	87
Jan. 24	Message to Congress.....VII,	88
Jan. 24	Indorsement on Letter from Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.....VII,	88
Jan. 24	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton..VII,	89
Jan. 27	President's General War Order No 1 VII,	89
Jan. 31	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.VII,	90
Jan. 31	Special War Order No. 1.....VII,	91
Jan. 31	Message to Congress.....VII,	91
Feb. 3	To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII,	93
Feb. 3	Memorandum accompanying Above VII,	94
Feb. 3	To William H. Herndon.....VII,	94
Feb. 4	To L. W. Powell.....VII,	95
Feb. 4	Respite for Nathaniel Gordon...VII,	95
Feb. 4	Message to Congress.....VII,	97
Feb. 7	Message to U. S. Senate.....VII,	98
Feb. 9	Directions to Gen. D. C. Buell....VII,	98

Feb. 10	To Generals D. Hunter and J. H. Lane	VII, 99
Feb. 12	Message to Congress	VII, 100
Feb. 14	Amnesty to Political or State Prisoners	VII, 100
Feb. 15	Message to Congress	VII, 104
Feb. 15	Note concerning Contrabands	VII, 105
Feb. 16	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII. 105
Feb. 19	Proclamation concerning Washington's Birthday	VII, 107
Feb. 25	Message to Congress	VII, 107
Feb. 26	Message to Congress	VII, 108
Feb. 27	Executive Order No. 2 — relating to State Prisoners	VII, 108
Feb. 28	Order relating to Commercial Intercourse	VII, 109
March 3	Message to Congress	VII, 110
March 3	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII, 110
March 3	Message to Congress	VII, 111
March 6	Message to Congress recommending Compensated Emancipation	VII, 112
March 7	To Secretary William H. Seward	VII, 115
March 8	General War Order No. 2	VII, 116
March 8	General War Order No. 3	VII, 117
March 8	Instructions to Gen. D. C. Buell	VII, 118
March 9	To Henry J. Raymond	VII, 119
March 10	Memorandum of Interview with Border State Representatives	VII, 120
March 10	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VII, 128
March 10	To Gen. D. C. Buell	VII, 128

March 10	Instructions to Assistant Secretary Gustavus V. Fox	VII, 129
March 11	Special War Order No. 3	VII, 129
March 12	Message to U. S. Senate	VII, 130
March 13	*Indorsement on Application for Position	VII, 131
March 14	To J. A. McDougall	VII, 132
March 14	Message to Congress	VII, 134
March 15	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VII, 134
March 15	To Secretary William H. Seward	VII, 135
March 19	To Dr. Samuel Boyd Tobey	VII, 135
March 20	Message to Congress	VII, 136
March 21	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII, 137
March 21	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 138
March 26	Message to Congress	VII, 138
April 3	Instruction to Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VII, 138
April 3	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII, 139
April 4	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII, 139
April 5	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII, 140
April 6	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 140
April 9	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 141
April 9	*To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII, 144
April 10	Proclamation recommending Thanksgiving for Victories	VII, 144
April 10	To R. Yates and William Butler	VII, 145
April 14	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII, 146
April 16	Message to Congress	VII, 146
April 18	Message to Congress	VII, 147

April 21	To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII,	147
April 22	Unsigned Draft of Letter to James G. Berrett.....VII,	148
April 23	To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII,	149
April 24	Message to U. S. Senate.....VII,	149
April 24	*To Post-Master General.....VII,	149
April 26	Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....VII,	150
April 27	To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....VII,	150
April 29	*To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII,	151
May 1	Message to U. S. Senate.....VII,	151
May 1	Message to U. S. Senate.....VII,	152
May 1	To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII,	152
May 1	To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII,	153
May 4	To Gen. J. E. Wool.....VII,	153
May (6?)	Response to Evangelical Lutherans VII,	153
May 7	To Flag-Officer L. M. Goldsborough VII,	155
May 9	To Gen. George B. McClellan VII,	156
May 10	To Flag Officer L. M. Goldsborough VII,	158
May 12	Proclamation raising Blockade of Certain Ports.....VII,	158
May 14	Message to Congress.....VII,	160
May 14	Message to Congress.....VII,	161
May 15	To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII,	163
May (15?)	Reply to Resolutions of East Baltimore Methodist Conference...VII,	163
May 15	*Speech to 12th Indiana Regiment.VII,	164
May 16	To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII,	165

May 16	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 166
May 17	Proposed Additions to Instructions to General McDowell	VII, 166
May 17	Indorsement relating to Gen. David Hunter's Order of Military Emancipation	VII, 167
May 18	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 168
May 18	*To Charles L. Flint	VII, 170
May 19	Proclamation revoking Order of Military Emancipation	VII, 170
May 20	*To Lady Villiers	VII, 173
May 21	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 174
May 22	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 174
May 22	Indorsement on Letter of G. Montague Hicks	VII, 175
May 22	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII, 175
May 23	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII, 176
May 24	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 176
May 24	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 176
May 24	To Gen. Rufus Saxton	VII, 178
May 24	To Col. D. S. Miles	VII, 178
May 24	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VII, 178
May 24	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VII, 179
May 24	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII, 179
May 24	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 180
May 24	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 181
May (24?)	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 181
May 24	To Gen. N. P. Banks	VII, 182
May 24	Message to U. S. Senate	VII, 182

May 25	To Gen. J. W. Geary	VII, 183
May 25	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 183
May 25	Order taking Possession of Railroads	VII, 184
May 25	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VII, 184
May 25	To Gen. Rufus Saxton	VII, 185
May 25	To Gen. Rufus Saxton	VII, 185
May 25	To Gen. Rufus Saxton	VII, 186
May 25	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 186
May 26	Message to Congress	VII, 189
May 26	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 194
May 26	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 194
May 26	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 195
May 26	To Gen. J. B. Ricketts	VII, 195
May 27	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VII, 195
May 27	To Governor Andrew	VII, 195
May 28	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VII, 196
May 28	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 197
May 28	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 197
May 28	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 198
May 28	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 198
May 28	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VII, 199
May 28	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VII, 200
May 29	To Gen. R. B. Marcy	VII, 200
May 29	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 201
May 29	To Gen. N. P. Banks	VII, 201
May 29	To Gen. John C. Frémont	VII, 202
May 29	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 202
May 29	To Gen. R. B. Marcy	VII, 202
May 30	To Gen. I. McDowell	VII, 203
May 30	To Gen. N. P. Banks	VII, 203

May 30 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 204
May 30 To Gen. I. McDowell.....VII, 204
May 30 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 205
May 30 To Gen. I. McDowell.....VII, 205
May 30 To Gen. I. McDowell.....VII, 206
May 31 To Gen. G. A. McCall.....VII, 206
May 31 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 207
May 31 To Gen. G. A. McCall.....VII, 208
June 1 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 208
June 1 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 209
June 1 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 209
June 1 To Gen. N. P. Banks.....VII, 210
June 3 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 210
June 3 To Gen. I. McDowell.....VII, 211
June 4 To Judge-Advocate Lee.....VII, 211
June 4 Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....VII, 211
June 4 To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII, 212
June 4 To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....VII, 212
June 6 To Gen. I. McDowell.....VII, 212
June 7 To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....VII, 213
June 8 To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII, 214
June 9 To Gen. N. P. Banks.....VII, 214
June 9 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 214
June 9 To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....VII, 215
June 9 To Gen. A. E. Burnside.....VII, 215
June 10 Message to Congress.....VII, 215
June 12 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 216
June 12 Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....VII, 217
June 12 To Gen. Franz Sigel.....VII, 217

June 12 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 218
June 13 Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....VII, 219
June 13 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 219
June 15 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 220
June 15 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 222
June 16 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 224
June 16 To Gen. Carl Schurz.....VII, 226
June 17 Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....VII, 226
June 17 From Secretary Stanton to Gen. F. Sigel .....VII, 227
June 17 To Gen. John C. Frémont.....VII, 227
June 18 To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII, 228
June 18 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 228
June 19 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 228
June 20 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 229
June 21 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 229
June 22 To Gen. N. P. Banks.....VII, 230
June 23 Message to U. S. Senate.....VII, 230
June 24 From General Scott to Lincoln..VII, 233
June 26 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 234
June 26 Order Constituting Army of Virginia .....VII, 235
June 26 To John W. Crisfield.....VII, 237
June 28 To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VII, 238
June 28 To Gen. A. E. Burnside.....VII, 239
June 28 To Gen. A. E. Burnside.....VII, 239
June 28 To Gen. George B. McClellan...VII, 239
June 28 To Secretary William H. Seward.VII, 240
June 28 To Gen. John A. Dix.....VII, 242

June 28 To Flag-Officer L. M. Goldsborough ..... VII, 242
June 28 *To Gov. O. P. Morton..... VII, 242
June 29 To Secretary William H. Seward. VII, 243
June 30 To Secretary William H. Seward. VII, 245
June 30 Call for Troops..... VII, 245
June 30 To Gen. John A. Dix..... VII, 246
June 30 To Gen. H. W. Halleck..... VII, 247
June 30 To Gen. H. W. Halleck..... VII, 248
July 1 Call for 300,000 Volunteers.... VII, 248
July 1 Proclamation concerning Taxes in Rebellious States..... VII, 251
July 1 Message to Congress..... VII, 253
July 1 To Gen. George B. McClellan... VII, 253
July 2 To Gov. E. D. Morgan..... VII, 254
July 2 To Gen. George B. McClellan... VII, 254
July 2 To Gen. H. W. Halleck..... VII, 255
July 2 Message to U. S. Senate..... VII, 256
July 3 Circular Letter to Governors.... VII, 256
July 3 To Gen. George B. McClellan... VII, 257
July 3 To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.... VII, 258
July 4 To Gen. George B. McClellan... VII, 259
July 4 To Gen. H. W. Halleck..... VII, 260
July 4 To Gen. John A. Dix..... VII, 260
July 5 To Gen. George B. McClellan... VII, 261
July 6 To Gen. H. W. Halleck..... VII, 261
July 9 Memorandum from Gen. George B. McClellan's Headquarters..... VII, 262
July 11 Order making Gen. H. W. Halleck General-in-Chief ..... VII, 266
July 11 Message to Congress..... VII, 267

July 11	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	VII, 268
July 11	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII, 269
July 12	Appeal to Favor Compensated Emancipation	VII, 270
July 12	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VII, 274
July 13	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 274
July 13	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII, 275
July 13	To Gen. J. T. Boyle	VII, 275
July 13	To Gen. J. T. Boyle	VII, 275
July 14	Message to Congress	VII, 276
July 14	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VII, 277
July 14	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 277
July 14	To J. W. White and Others	VII, 278
July 14	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VII, 278
July 15	To Solomon Foot	VII, 279
July 15	To Galusha A. Grow	VII, 279
July 17	Message to Congress	VII, 279
July 17	Message to Congress	VII, 280
July 18	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VII, 286
July 21	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 286
July 22	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VII, 287
July 22	Order Authorizing Employment of Contrabands.	VII, 287
July 22	Emancipation Proclamation as First Submitted to the Cabinet	VII, 289
July 24	To James Dixon	VII, 290
July 25	Proclamation	VII, 291
July 26	To Reverdy Johnson	VII, 292
July 28	To Cuthbert Bullitt	VII, 294
July 28	*To Governors of Union States	VII, 298

July 28	To Governors of Union States	VII, 298
July 30	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VII, 298
July 31	To August Belmont	VII, 299
July 31	To Joseph A. Wright	VII, 300
Aug. 4	To Count A. de Gasparin	VII, 301
Aug. 6	Address at a Union Meeting in Washington	VII, 304
Aug. 7	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VII, 306
Aug. 8	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VII, 306
Aug. 9	To John M. Clay	VII, 307
Aug. 11	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VII, 307
Aug. 12	To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VII, 308
Aug. 12	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VII, 308
Aug. 12	To Cassius M. Clay	VII, 309
Aug. 12	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VII, 309
Aug. 12	*To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VII, 310
Aug. 14	Address to Deputation of Colored Men	VIII, 1
Aug. 14	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII, 9
Aug. 14	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII, 10
Aug. 14	*To Officer at Camp Chase	VIII, 10
Aug. 15	*To Officer at Camp Douglass	VIII, 10
Aug. 16	*To Hon. Hiram Barney	VIII, 10
Aug. 16	To George P. Fisher	VIII, 11
Aug. 18	*To S. B. Moody	VIII, 12
Aug. 18	Note of Introduction	VIII, 13
Aug. 19	Memorandum about Appointment of Collector	VIII, 13
Aug. 21	*To Mrs. Margaret Preston	VIII, 13
Aug. 21	*To Gillet F. Watson	VIII, 14
Aug. 22	To Horace Greeley	VIII, 15

Aug. 27	Memorandum about Appointment of Collector	VIII,	17
Aug. 27	To Washington Talcott	VIII,	17
Aug. 27	To Governor Ramsey	VIII,	18
Aug. 27	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	18
Aug. 27	*To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII,	18
Aug. 28	*To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII,	18
Aug. 28	*To Col. Hermann Haupt	VIII,	18
Aug. 29	*To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII,	19
Aug. 29	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	19
Aug. 29	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	19
Aug. 31	To Gen. J. T. Boyle	VIII,	20
Sept. 3	Order to Gen. H. W. Halleck	VIII,	20
Sept. 4	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VIII,	21
Sept. 7	To Gen. H. G. Wright	VIII,	21
Sept. 7	To Gen. J. T. Boyle	VIII,	21
Sept. 7	To Gen. J. E. Wool	VIII,	21
Sept. 8	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	22
Sept. 8	To Gen. D. C. Buell	VIII,	22
Sept. 9	To Thomas Webster	VIII,	22
Sept. 10	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	23
Sept. 11	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII,	23
Sept. 11	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII,	24
Sept. 11	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	24
Sept. 12	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	25
Sept. 12	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII,	25
Sept. 12	To Gen. H. G. Wright	VIII,	26
Sept. 12	To Gen. J. T. Boyle	VIII,	26
Sept. 12	To Alexander Henry	VIII,	27
Sept. 12	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	28
Sept. 13	Reply to Church Committees	VIII,	28

Sept. 14	To Gen. H. G. Wright	VIII,	34
Sept. 15	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	34
Sept. 15	To Jesse K. Dubois	VIII,	34
Sept. 16	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII,	35
Sept. 16	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII,	35
Sept. 17	*To Gov. O. P. Morton	VIII,	35
Sept. 20	*To General Ketchum	VIII,	36
Sept. 22	Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation	VIII,	36
Sept. 24	Proclamation suspending the Writ of Habeas Corpus	VIII,	41
Sept. 24	Letter Introducing Edward Everett	VIII,	43
Sept. 24	Reply to a Serenade	VIII,	43
Sept. 25	To John Ross	VIII,	45
Sept. 26	Matter relative to the Dismissal of Maj. John J. Key	VIII,	46
Sept. 28	To Hannibal Hamlin	VIII,	49
Sept. (28?)	Reply to an Address by Mrs. Gurney	VIII,	50
Sept. 29	To Gov. Edward Stanley	VIII,	51
Sept. (30?)	Meditation on the Divine Will	VIII,	52
Oct. 3	*To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VIII,	53
Oct. 4	*Remarks at Frederick, Md.	XI,	124
Oct. 6	To Gen. George B. McClellan from Gen. H. W. Halleck	VIII,	53
Oct. 7	*To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	54
Oct. 8	To T. H. Clay	VIII,	55
Oct. 8	To Gen. U. S. Grant	VIII,	55
Oct. 10	To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII,	56
Oct. 11	To Gen. J. T. Boyle	VIII,	56

Oct. 12	To Gen. J. T. Boyle	VIII,	56
Oct. 12	*To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII,	57
Oct. 13	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	57
Oct. 14	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler and Others	VIII,	61
Oct. 16	*To Gov. F. H. Peirpoint	VIII,	62
Oct. 18	To Surgeon-General	VIII,	63
Oct. 19	To Gen. D. C. Buell from Gen. H. W. Halleck	VIII,	63
Oct. 20	Executive Order establishing a Provisional Court in Louisiana	VIII,	64
Oct. 21	To Gen. George B. McClellan from Gen. H. W. Halleck	VIII,	66
Oct. 23	*To Gov. F. H. Peirpoint	VIII,	67
Oct. 24	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	67
Oct. 25	Memorandum to write to Theodore Canisius	VIII,	68
Oct. 26	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	68
Oct. 27	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	69
Oct. 27	To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	69
Oct. 29	*To Gen. George B. McClellan	VIII,	70
Oct. 30	*To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII,	70
Oct. 31	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	VIII,	71
Nov. 1	Memorandum. To Whom it may Concern	VIII,	71
Nov. 5	To Col. W. R. Morrison	VIII,	72
Nov. 5	Order relieving Gen. George B. McClellan, and Other Changes	VIII,	72
Nov. 7	Military Order	VIII,	73
Nov. 7	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII,	73
Nov. 10	To Gen. John Pope	VIII,	73

Nov. 12	Order concerning Blockade	VIII,	74
Nov. 13	Order concerning Confiscation Act	VIII,	74
Nov. 14	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	VIII,	76
Nov. 14	*To F. P. Blair, Jr	VIII,	76
Nov. 15	General Order respecting Observance of the Sabbath in the Army and Navy	VIII,	76
Nov. 17	To Gen. F. P. Blair	VIII,	77
Nov. 18	To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII,	78
Nov. 20	Draft of Letter to George Robertson	VIII,	78
Nov. 21	To Gov. G. F. Shepley	VIII,	79
Nov. 21	To Gov. G. F. Shepley	VIII,	80
Nov. 22	To Gen. N. P. Banks	VIII,	81
Nov. 22	To W. L. Vance	VIII,	83
Nov. 24	To Maj. John J. Key	VIII,	48
Nov. 24	To Gen. Carl Schurz	VIII,	84
Nov. 25	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII,	87
Nov. 25	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII,	87
Nov. 26	To George Robertson	VIII,	87
Nov. 27	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VIII,	88
Nov. 29	To Attorney-General Edward Bates	VIII,	90
Nov. 30	*To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII,	92
Dec. 1	*To Judge Advocate General	VIII,	92
Dec. 1	Annual Message to Congress	VIII,	93
Dec. 3	Message to Congress	VIII,	132
Dec. 5	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII,	133
Dec. 6	*To General Sibley	VIII,	133
Dec. 7	To C. P. Kirkland	VIII,	136

Dec. 8	Message to Congress	VIII,	136
Dec. 8	*To Gov. Andrew Johnson	VIII,	137
Dec. 9	Message to U. S. Senate	VIII,	137
Dec. 10	To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII,	138
Dec. 10	Message to Congress	VIII,	138
Dec. 10	*To Jesse K. Dubois	VIII,	139
Dec. 11	Message to U. S. Senate	VIII,	139
Dec. 12	Message to Congress	VIII,	142
Dec. 12	To Fernando Wood	VIII,	142
Dec. 14	*To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII,	144
Dec. 16	*To General Sibley	VIII,	144
Dec. 16	*To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII,	145
Dec. 16	*To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII,	145
Dec. 17	*To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII,	146
Dec. 17	*To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII,	146
Dec. 18	Message to Congress	VIII,	146
Dec. 18	*To Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble	VIII,	147
Dec. 19	*To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII,	147
Dec. 19	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII,	147
Dec. 20	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII,	148
Dec. 20	To Secretaries William H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase	VIII,	148
Dec. 21	*To Mrs. Lincoln	VIII,	148
Dec. 22	To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII,	149
Dec. 22	Congratulations to Army of the Potomac	VIII,	149
Dec. 22	To Gens. W. B. Franklin and W. F. Smith	VIII,	150
Dec. 22	Message to U. S. Senate	VIII,	151
Dec. 23	Note to the Cabinet	VIII,	151
Dec. 23	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII,	152

Dec. 23 *To Miss Fanny McCullough...VIII, 152
Dec. 24 Message to Congress.....VIII, 153
Dec. 27 *To Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble..VIII, 153
Dec. 29 To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler...VIII, 154
Dec. 30 To Gen. A. E. Burnside.....VIII, 154
Dec. 30 To Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble..VIII, 154
Dec. 30 Draft of Emancipation Proclamation .....VIII, 155
Dec. 31 Opinion on Admission of West Virginia into the Union.....VIII, 157

1863

Jan. 1 Final Emancipation Proclamation VIII, 161
Jan. 1 To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VIII, 165
Jan. 1 To Hon. Edwin M. Stanton from Gen. H. W. Halleck.....VIII, 165
Jan. 1 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.VIII, 166
Jan. 2 Message to Congress.....VIII, 167
Jan. 2 To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler...VIII, 167
Jan. 2 To Gen. S. R. Curtis.....VIII, 168
Jan. 4 To Secretary Gideon Welles....VIII, 170
Jan. 5 To Gen. S. R. Curtis.....VIII, 171
Jan. 5 Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....VIII, 173
Jan. 5 To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.....VIII, 173
Jan. 5 *To Caleb Russell and Sallie A. Fenton .....VIII, 174
Jan. 5 From Gen. A. E. Burnside.....VIII, 177
Jan. 6 Memorandum about Organizing Blacks .....VIII, 175

Jan. 7	*To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII, 175
Jan. 7	To Green Adams	VIII, 175
Jan. 7	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	VIII, 176
Jan. 7	To B. G. Brown	VIII, 176
Jan. 7	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII, 179
Jan. 8	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII, 181
Jan. 8	To Gen. J. A. McClernand	VIII, 181
Jan. 8	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	VIII, 183
Jan. 9	Message to Congress	VIII, 184
Jan. 10	To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII, 184
Jan. 10	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	VIII, 185
Jan. 12	To Gov. W. A. Buckingham	VIII, 185
Jan. 12	Instruction to Judge-Advocate-General	VIII, 186
Jan. 14	To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII, 186
Jan. 14	To Gen. S. R. Curtis from Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VIII, 187
Jan. 14	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VIII, 188
Jan. 15	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VIII, 191
Jan. 17	Message to Congress	VIII, 191
Jan. 19	To Workingmen of Manchester, England	VIII, 194
Jan. 20	To S. T. Glover	VIII, 197
Jan. 20	Message to U. S. Senate	VIII, 198
Jan. 21	Message to Congress	VIII, 198
Jan. 21	Indorsement on Proceedings and Sentence of Court-Martial	VIII, 199
Jan. 21	To Gen. U. S. Grant from Gen. H. W. Halleck	VIII, 199
Jan. 22	To Gen. J. A. McClernand	VIII, 201

Jan. 22 To Gen. Frederick Steele.....VIII, 201
Jan. 22 Memorandum about a Man's Property .....VIII, 202
Jan. 23 Message to Congress.....VIII, 203
Jan. 23 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.VIII, 203
Jan. 25 Order relieving Gen. A. E. Burnside and making Other Changes..VIII, 204
Jan. 26 Message to U. S. Senate.....VIII, 204
Jan. 26 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 206
Jan. 28 Message to Congress.....VIII, 207
Jan. 28 *To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler....VIII, 208
Jan. 29 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.VIII, 208
Jan. 29 To Thurlow Weed.....VIII, 209
Jan. 29 *To Gen. John A. Dix.....VIII, 209
Jan. 30 *To Gen. John A. Dix.....VIII, 209
Jan. 31 *To Gen. John A. Dix.....VIII, 209
Jan. 31 *To Gen. R. C. Schenck.....VIII, 210
Feb. 1 *To Gov. O. P. Morton.....VIII, 210
Feb. 1 To Gen. J. T. Boyle.....VIII, 210
Feb. 2 To the Workingmen of London, England .....VIII, 211
Feb. 4 Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....VIII, 212
Feb. 4 *To Gen. R. C. Schenck.....VIII, 213
Feb. 6 Message to U. S. Senate.....VIII, 213
Feb. 6 Message to U. S. Senate.....VIII, 213
Feb. 10 Message to U. S. Senate.....VIII, 214
Feb. 12 Message to U. S. Senate.....VIII, 214
Feb. 12 Telegram to General W. S. Rosecrans .....VIII, 214
Feb. 13 Message to U. S. Senate.....VIII, 215

Feb. 13	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	VIII, 215
Feb. 17	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 215
Feb. 19	*To William H. Herndon	VIII, 217
Feb. 22	To Rev. Alexander Reed	VIII, 217
Feb. 27	*To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 218
Feb. 28	Message to U. S. Senate	VIII, 218
Feb. 28	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VIII, 219
Feb. 28	Proclamation convening the Senate	VIII, 219
March 2	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII, 220
March 2	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII, 221
March 2	Message to Congress	VIII, 221
March 2	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII, 222
March 5	*To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 222
March 7	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VIII, 223
March 9	Memorandum about Gen. William F. Smith	VIII, 223
March 9	*To Gov. D. Tod	VIII, 223
March 10	Proclamation granting Amnesty to Soldiers absent without Leave	VIII, 224
March 13	*To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 226
March 17	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 226
March 18	To Henry Winter Davis	VIII, 229
March 20	Revocation of Sentence of T. W. Knox	VIII, 230
March 23	To Gov. Horatio Seymour	VIII, 230
March 24	Memorandum about Charles Wiegand	VIII, 231
March 25	To Gen. S. A. Hurlbut	VIII, 232
March 25	*To Benjamin Gratz	VIII, 232

March 25 *To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.....VIII, 232
March 26 To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....VIII, 233
March 27 To Secretary Salmon P. Chase..VIII, 233
March 29 To Gen. N. P. Banks.....VIII, 234
March 30 Proclamation appointing a National Fast-Day .....VIII, 235
March 31 License of Commercial Intercourse VIII, 238
April 1 To Gen. D. Hunter.....VIII, 239
April 2 Proclamation about Commercial Intercourse .....VIII, 240
April 3 *To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 243
April 11 Indorsement on Gen. Joseph Hooker's Plan of Campaign against Richmond .....VIII, 243
April 11 To Gen. J. Pope from Gen. H. W. Halleck .....VIII, 244
April 11 To Gen. Carl Schurz.....VIII, 244
April 11 *Order staying Execution.....VIII, 245
April 12 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 245
April 13 To Gov. A. G. Curtin.....VIII, 246
April 13 To Admiral S. F. DuPont.....VIII, 246
April 14 To J. E. Bouligny.....VIII, 246
April 14 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 247
April 14 To Gen. D. Hunter and Admiral S. F. DuPont.....VIII, 248
April 15 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 249
April 16 Indorsement on Letter of T. Woodruff .....VIII, 249
April 20 Proclamation admitting West Virginia into the Union.....VIII, 250

April 20	To C. Truesdale	VIII, 251
April 21	To Secretaries William H. Seward and Gideon Welles	VIII, 252
April 23	To Joseph Segar	VIII, 253
April 23	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 254
April 27	To Assistant-Secretary P. H. Watson	VIII, 255
April 27	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 255
April 27	To Gen. J. H. Lane	VIII, 256
April 28	Indorsement on Letter of F. L. Capen	VIII, 256
April 28	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII, 257
April 29	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII, 257
April 29	*To W. A. Newell	VIII, 258
April 30	Indorsement in the Case of Captain Schaadt	VIII, 259
April 30	To Gen. David Hunter	VIII, 260
May 1	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII, 261
May 2	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	VIII, 261
May 3	To Gen. D. Butterfield	VIII, 262
May 3	To Gen. D. Butterfield	VIII, 262
May 4	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 262
May 4	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII, 262
May 6	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 263
May 6	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 264
May 6	To Col. R. Ingalls	VIII, 264
May 7	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 263
May 8	Proclamation concerning Aliens	VIII, 266
May 8	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 269
May 8	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII, 270
May 9	To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII, 270

May 11	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.	VIII, 271
May 11	*To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII, 271
May 11	*To Gen. D. Butterfield	VIII, 271
May 12	*To Gov. Horatio Seymour	VIII, 272
May 13	*To Dr. A. G. Henry	VIII, 272
May 13	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase.	VIII, 272
May 13	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 273
May 13	Memorandum about Lieutenant Merryman	VIII, 273
May 13	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.	VIII, 274
May 14	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 274
May 14	To William Cullen Bryant	VIII, 275
May 15	To H. T. Blow and Others	VIII, 276
May 16	*To James Guthrie	VIII, 276
May 16	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.	VIII, 277
May 17	To Gen. F. J. Herron	VIII, 277
May 19	Orders sending C. L. Vallandigham beyond Military Lines	VIII, 278
May 20	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII, 279
May 20	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 279
May 20	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 280
May 21	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 280
May 21	*To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII, 280
May 22	To Gen. S. A. Hurlbut	VIII, 281
May 24	*To Anson Stager	VIII, 281
May 25	*To Colonel Haggard	VIII, 282
May 27	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 282
May 27	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	VIII, 282
May 27	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase.	VIII, 283
May 27	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 284
May 28	*To Erastus Corning	VIII, 284

May 28	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 284
May 28	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	VIII, 285
May 29	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	VIII, 285
May 29	To Jesse K. Dubois and Others	VIII, 286
May 29	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII, 286
May (30?)	Reply to Members of the Presbyterian General Assembly	VIII, 287
June 1	To Charles Sumner	VIII, 288
June 1	*To Colonel Ludlow	VIII, 290
June 2	To Gen. U. S. Grant	VIII, 290
June 4	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	VIII, 290
June 4	*To Gen. D. Butterfield	VIII, 291
June 5	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 291
June 5	*To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 292
June 6	Anonymous Note to Washington "Chronicle."	VIII, 292
June 6	*To Mrs. E. J. Grimsley	VIII, 293
June 6	*To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII, 294
June 8	To Gen. S. R. Curtis	VIII, 294
June 8	*To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII, 295
June 8	*To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII, 295
June 9	*To J. P. Hale	VIII, 296
June 9	*To Mrs. Lincoln	VIII, 296
June 9	*To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 296
June 10	To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 297
June 11	*To Mrs. Lincoln	VIII, 297
June 12	To Erastus Corning and Others	VIII, 298
June 12	*To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 314
June 13	*To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII, 314
June 14	*To Gen. E. B. Tyler	VIII, 315
June 14	*To Gen. E. B. Tyler	VIII, 315

June 14 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 315
June 14 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 315
June 14 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 316
June 14 To Gen. R. C. Schenck.....VIII, 316
June 14 *To Gen. B. F. Kelley.....VIII, 317
June 15 *To Mrs. Lincoln.....VIII, 317
June 15 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 317
June 15 Call for Militia for Six Months. VIII, 318
June 15 To J. R. Campbell.....VIII, 319
June 16 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 320
June 16 *To F. Kapp and Others.....VIII, 322
June 16 *To Gen. T. F. Meagher.....VIII, 322
June 16 *To Mrs. Lincoln.....VIII, 322
June 16 *To Col. W. S. Bliss.....VIII, 323
June 16 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 323
June 17 Memorandum about I. D. Andrews VIII, 323
June 17 *To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 324
June 18 *To Joshua Tevis.....VIII, 324
June 18 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton. VIII, 325
June 18 To J. K. Moorehead.....VIII, 325
June 18 *To Gov. D. Tod.....VIII, 326
June 18 *To Gen. A. Dingman.....VIII, 326
June 19 To E. E. Malhiot and Others. . VIII, 326
June 21 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 328
June 21 *To Gen. J. M. Schofield.....VIII, 328
June 22 To Gen. J. M. Schofield.....VIII, 329
June 22 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton. VIII, 330
June 22 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....VIII, 331
June 23 *To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton. VIII, 331
June 23 *To Major Van Vliet.....VIII, 332

June 24	*To Gen. D. N. Couch	VIII,	332
June 24	*To Gen. John A. Dix	VIII,	332
June 25	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	VIII,	333
June 25	*To General Peck	VIII,	333
June 27	*To Gen. Joseph Hooker	VIII,	333
June 28	*To Gen. A. E. Burnside	VIII,	334
June 28	*To Gen. R. C. Schenck	VIII,	334
June 28	To Gen. D. N. Couch	VIII,	334
June 29	To M. Birchard and Others	IX,	1
June 29	To W. Kellogg	IX,	10
June 29	To Gen. R. H. Milroy	IX,	11
June 30	*To Gov. J. Parker	IX,	13
June 30	*To Col. A. K. McClure	IX,	14
June 30	To Gen. David Hunter	IX,	14
June 30	*To Gen. D. N. Couch	IX,	15
July 3	*To Robert T. Lincoln	IX,	15
July 4	Draft of Telegram to Rear-Admiral S. P. Lee	IX,	15
July 4	To Rear-Admiral S. P. Lee	IX,	16
July 4	Announcement of News from Gettysburg	IX,	17
July 4	To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX,	17
July 5	*To Gen. W. H. French	IX,	17
July 6	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX,	18
July 7	*To J. K. Dubois and Others	IX,	19
July 7	Response to a Serenade	IX,	20
July 7	To Gen. G. G. Meade from Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX,	22
July 8	To Gen. G. G. Meade from Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX,	22
July 8	To Gen. L. Thomas	IX,	23

July 8	*To E. D. Smith	IX,	23
July 8	*To F. F. Lowe	IX,	23
July 9	*To L. Swett and F. F. Lowe	IX,	24
July 11	*To Robert T. Lincoln	IX,	24
July 11	To Jesse K. Dubois	IX,	24
July 11	*To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX,	25
July 12	*To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX,	25
July 13	To Gen. U. S. Grant	IX,	26
July 13	To H. T. Blow	IX,	27
July 13	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX,	27
July 14	To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX,	28
July 14	To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX,	30
July 14	*To Robert T. Lincoln	IX,	30
July 15	*To L. Swett	IX,	31
July 15	*To Simon Cameron	IX,	31
July 15	Proclamation for Thanksgiving	IX,	32
July 15	To J. O. Broadhead	IX,	34
July 17	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX,	34
July 17	To Gen. J. H. Lane	IX,	34
July 18	*To Gov. O. P. Morton	IX,	35
July 20	To Gov. Joel Parker	IX,	35
July 20	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX,	36
July 21	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX,	37
July 21	To Gov. Thomas Carney	IX,	37
July 21	To Gen. O. O. Howard	IX,	39
July 21	To Gen. A. P. Hovey	IX,	40
July 22	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX,	40
July 23	To Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble	IX,	40
July 23	To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX,	41
July 24	To Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair	IX,	42

July 24	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 42
July 25	To Gov. Joel Parker	IX, 42
July 25	*Order concerning Contraband Trade	XI, 127
July 27	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 44
July 27	To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 44
July 27	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 45
July 28	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 46
July 28	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 46
July 29	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 47
July 30	Order of Retaliation	IX, 48
July 30	To F. P. Blair, Sr	IX, 49
July 31	To —— Moulton	IX, 49
July 31	To Gen. S. A. Hurlbut	IX, 51
Aug. 1	To Gov. Horatio Seymour	IX, 52
Aug. 3	*To Gen. J. G. Foster	IX, 53
Aug. 4	*To J. A. Bingham	IX, 53
Aug. 5	*To the "Cincinnati Gazette"	IX, 53
Aug. 5	*To Commissioner of Agriculture	IX, 54
Aug. 5	To Gen. N. P. Banks	IX, 56
Aug. 7	To Gov. Horatio Seymour	IX, 58
Aug. 8	To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 61
Aug. 8	To Gen. J. G. Foster	IX, 62
Aug. 9	To J. M. Fleming and R. Morrow	IX, 63
Aug. 9	To Gen. U. S. Grant	IX, 64
Aug. 10	Memorandum concerning ——Sands	IX, 65
Aug. 10	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 66
Aug. 10	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 68
Aug. 10	Letter of Acknowledgment	IX, 68
Aug. 11	To Gov. Horatio Seymour	IX, 69

Aug. 11	To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX,	71
Aug. 11	Indorsement	IX,	71
Aug. 12	To Gen. J. A. McClernand	IX,	71
Aug. 15	*To Gen. J. G. Foster	IX,	73
Aug. (15?)	Opinion on the Draft (never Issued or Published by Lincoln)	IX,	74
Aug. 16	To Gov. Horatio Seymour	IX,	83
Aug. 16	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX,	84
Aug. 17	To J. H. Hackett	IX,	84
Aug. 17	To F. F. Lowe	IX,	85
Aug. 17	*To Gov. Andrew Johnson	IX,	87
Aug. 18	To Gen. J. G. Blunt	IX,	87
Aug. 19	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX,	88
Aug. 20	*To J. C. Conkling	IX,	89
Aug. 20	*To Gen. A. J. Hamilton	IX,	89
Aug. 21	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX,	89
Aug. 21	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX,	90
Aug. 22	To Gen. D. E. Sickles	IX,	90
Aug. 24	*To Mrs. Grimsley	IX,	91
Aug. 24	To Secretary J. P. Usher	IX,	91
Aug. 25	Indorsement on Note of Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX,	91
Aug. 26	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX,	92
Aug. 26	To I. N. Morris	IX,	94
Aug. 26	To J. C. Conkling	IX,	95
Aug. 26	*To J. C. Conkling	IX,	102
Aug. 27	To Gov. Horatio Seymour	IX,	103
Aug. 27	To A. C. Wilder and J. H. Lane	IX,	104
Aug. 27	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX,	104
Aug. 27	To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX,	104
Aug. 27	To F. C. Sherman and J. S. Hayes	IX,	105

Aug. 28	*To Gen. J. G. Foster	IX, 105
Aug. 28	*To Gen. S. W. Crawford	IX, 106
Aug. 29	*To L. Swett	IX, 106
Aug. 29	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 106
Aug. 31	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 107
Aug. 31	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX, 107
Sept. 1	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 108
Sept. 2	Draft of Letter to Secretary Salmon P. Chase	IX, 108
Sept. 3	*To J. C. Conkling	IX, 109
Sept. 3	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 110
Sept. 4	Order concerning Commercial Regulations	IX, 110
Sept. 5	*To Joseph Segar	IX, 111
Sept. 6	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 111
Sept. 6	*To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX, 112
Sept. 6	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 112
Sept. 7	To F. C. Sherman and J. S. Hayes	IX, 112
Sept. 8	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	IX, 113
Sept. 9	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 113
Sept. 10	*To Gen. F. Wheaton	IX, 113
Sept. 10	To Dr. J. P. Gray	IX, 114
Sept. 11	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	IX, 116
Sept. 11	*To Hannibal Hamlin	IX, 117
Sept. 11	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 117
Sept. 11	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 118
Sept. 12	To Josiah Quincy	IX, 118
Sept. 12	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 119
Sept. 13	*To Jesse K. Dubois and O. M. Hatch	IX, 119

Sept. 13	*To Dr. J. P. Gray	IX, 119
Sept. 13	*To Dr. W. H. H. Scott	IX, 120
Sept. 14	To Gen. J. A. McClernand	IX, 120
Sept. 15	Proclamation suspending Writ of Habeas Corpus	IX, 121
Sept. 15	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX, 123
Sept. 15	*To James G. Blaine	IX, 124
Sept. 16	*To Mrs. J. F. Speed	IX, 124
Sept. 17	*To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX, 124
Sept. 17	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 125
Sept. 18	To I. N. Morris	IX, 125
Sept. 18	*To C. M. Smith	IX, 126
Sept. 18	*To Mrs. Hannah Armstrong	IX, 126
Sept. 19	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	IX, 126
Sept. 19	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	IX, 127
Sept. 19	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX, 128
Sept. 20	To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 130
Sept. 21	*To Gov. F. H. Peirpoint	IX, 131
Sept. 21	To Gov. H. W. Halleck	IX, 131
Sept. 21	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 132
Sept. 21	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 132
Sept. 21	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 132
Sept. 22	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 133
Sept. 22	*To Jesse K. Dubois and O. M. Hatch	IX, 133
Sept. 22	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 134
Sept. 23	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 134
Sept. 24	Proclamation opening the Port of Alexandria, Va	IX, 135
Sept. 24	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 137
Sept. 24	To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 137

Sept. 24	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 138
Sept. 25	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 139
Sept. 25	*To Gen. D. C. McCallum	IX, 139
Sept. 25	Draft of Letter to Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 139
Sept. 25	*To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX, 141
Sept. 27	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 141
Sept. 27	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 141
Sept. 28	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 142
Sept. 28	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 142
Sept. 28	To Horatio Ames	IX, 143
Sept. 29	Reply to Sons of Temperance	IX, 144
Sept. 30	*To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX, 146
Sept. 30	*To F. S. Cockran	IX, 146
Oct. 1	*To Gov. A. W. Bradford	IX, 147
Oct. 1	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX, 147
Oct. 1	*To Gen. E. B. Tyler	IX, 150
Oct. 1	*To T. A. Scott	IX, 150
Oct. 2	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX, 150
Oct. 3	*To Colonel Birney	IX, 151
Oct. 3	Proclamation for Thanksgiving	IX, 151
Oct. 4	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX, 154
Oct. 4	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 154
Oct. 5	To C. D. Drake and Others	IX, 155
Oct. 5	Memorandum concerning T. J. Carter	IX, 164
Oct. 7	*To Gov. Andrew Johnson	IX, 165
Oct. 9	Detail of C. B. Stewart for Certain Purposes	IX, 165
Oct. 10	To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 166
Oct. 11	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 166

Oct. 12	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 166
Oct. 12	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 167
Oct. 12	To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 167
Oct. 13	*To Wayne McVeigh	IX, 168
Oct. 14	*To Wayne McVeigh	IX, 168
Oct. 14	To Thurlow Weed	IX, 168
Oct. 15	*To J. W. Grimes	IX, 169
Oct. 15	*To Gen. John G. Foster	IX, 169
Oct. 15	*To L. B. Todd	IX, 169
Oct. 15	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 170
Oct. 16	*To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	IX, 170
Oct. 16	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX, 171
Oct. 16	To T. W. Sweeney	IX, 171
Oct. 16	*To T. C. Durant	IX, 172
Oct. 17	Call for 300,000 Volunteers	IX, 172
Oct. 17	To John Williams and N. G. Taylor	IX, 175
Oct. 17	*To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 175
Oct. 17	*To W. B. Thomas	IX, 175
Oct. 17	*To Gen. J. G. Foster	IX, 176
Oct. 18	*To T. C. Durant	IX, 176
Oct. 19	To Gov. Hamilton R. Gamble	IX, 176
Oct. 19	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 178
Oct. 21	To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX, 179
Oct. 22	To Gen. R. C. Schenck	IX, 179
Oct. 24	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX, 180
Oct. 26	Letter transmitting Original Draft of Emancipation Proclamation	IX, 181
Oct. 26	To G. H. Boker	IX, 181
Oct. 26	To E. B. Washburne	IX, 182
Oct. 26	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	IX, 183

Oct. 27	Opinion on the Loss of Gen. R. H. Milroy's Division	IX, 183
Oct. 27	To T. Swann	IX, 185
Oct. 28	*To Gov. Andrew Johnson	IX, 186
Oct. 28	To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX, 186
Oct. 29	To Gen. C. B. Fisk	IX, 188
Oct. 29	*To T. J. Carter	IX, 188
Oct. 29	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 188
Oct. 29	*To J. W. Grimes	IX, 189
Oct. 29	To Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin	IX, 190
Oct. 30	*To F. F. Lowe	IX, 191
Oct. 30	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 192
Oct. 31	*To A. Wakeman	IX, 193
Oct. 31	*To Saint Nicholas Hotel	IX, 193
Oct. 31	Memorandum concerning Troops in New York	IX, 194
Nov. 1	*To Secretary William H. Seward	IX, 194
Nov. 2	To Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair	IX, 195
Nov. 2	To Gov. A. W. Bradford	IX, 196
Nov. 2	To J. H. Hackett	IX, 198
Nov. 3	*To Secretary William H. Seward	IX, 199
Nov. 3	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 199
Nov. 5	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 200
Nov. 5	To Gen. N. P. Banks	IX, 200
Nov. 8	*To W. B. Astor and R. B. Roosevelt	IX, 202
Nov. 9	To J. J. Astor, Jr. and Others	IX, 202
Nov. 9	To B. F. Flanders	IX, 203
Nov. 9	To Gen. A. E. Burnside	IX, 204

Nov. 9	To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 204
Nov. 10	*To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX, 204
Nov. 11	*To Gen. J. M. Schofield	IX, 205
Nov. 11	*To Hiram Barney	IX, 205
Nov. 11	*To J. Milderborger	IX, 206
Nov. 11	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 206
Nov. 11	To Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair	IX, 206
Nov. 13	*To E. H. and E. Jameson	IX, 207
Nov. 14	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	IX, 207
Nov. 17	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	IX, 207
Nov. 17	Indorsement on Note of Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 208
Nov. 19	Address at Dedication of Gettysburg National Cemetery	IX, 209
Nov. 20	To Edward Everett	IX, 210
Nov. 20	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 212
Nov. 20	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	IX, 212
Nov. 20	To Zachariah Chandler	IX, 212
Nov. 23	To Secretary William H. Seward	IX, 213
Nov. 23	*To E. P. Evans	IX, 213
Nov. 24	To Secretary William H. Seward	IX, 214
Nov. 25	To Gen. U. S. Grant	IX, 214
Dec. 1	To Gen. John A. Dix, President, Union Pacific R. R. Co	IX, 214
Dec. 2	To George Opdyke and Others	IX, 215
Dec. 4	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 216
Dec. 5	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 216
Dec. 6	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 216
Dec. 7	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 217
Dec. 7	*To Mrs. Lincoln	IX, 217

Dec. 7 *To C. P. Kirkland.....IX, 217
Dec. 7 Announcement of Union Success in East Tennessee.....IX, 217
Dec. 8 Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction .....IX, 218
Dec. 8 Annual Message to Congress....IX, 224
Dec. 8 Message to Congress.....IX, 252
Dec. 8 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....IX, 253
Dec. 9 To Gov. A. G. Curtin.....IX, 254
Dec. 10 Message to U. S. Senate.....IX, 254
Dec. 14 Amnesty to Mrs. E. T. Helm....IX, 255
Dec. 15 To Dr. T. Cottman.....IX, 256
Dec. 15 Message to U. S. Senate.....IX, 258
Dec. 15 To Judge O. Hoffman.....IX, 258
Dec. 15 To Mother Mary Gonyeag.....IX, 259
Dec. 16 Proclamation concerning Discriminating Duties.....IX, 260
Dec. 17 Message to Congress.....IX, 263
Dec. 17 *To Gen. S. A. Hurlbut.....IX, 263
Dec. 18 To E. B. Washburne.....IX, 264
Dec. 18 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton..IX, 264
Dec. 19 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....IX, 266
Dec. 20 To Secretary Gideon Welles.....IX, 266
Dec. 21 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton..IX, 267
Dec. 21 Permit to Mr. and Mrs. Craig...IX, 268
Dec. 21 To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....IX, 268
Dec. 22 To O. D. Filley.....IX, 269
Dec. 22 Indorsement on Petition concerning Dr. McPheeters.....IX, 269
Dec. 22 *To Commander of Point Lookout IX, 272

Dec. 23 Message to Congress.....IX, 272
Dec. 24 To Gen. N. P. Banks.....IX, 273
Dec. 24 *To Commander of Point Lookout IX, 274
Dec. 26 *To U. F. Linder.....IX, 275
Dec. 29 To Gen. N. P. Banks.....IX, 275
Dec. 31 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton..IX, 275

1864

Jan. 2 *To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....XI, 129
Jan. 5 *To Gen. G. G. Meade.....IX, 276
Jan. 5 Message to U. S. Senate.....IX, 276
Jan. 5 To Gen. Frederick Steele.....IX, 277
Jan. 6 To Gen. J. T. Boyle.....IX, 278
Jan. 6 To Gov. F. E. Bramlette.....IX, 278
Jan. 7 *To Officer in Command at Covington, Ky.....IX, 278
Jan. 7 Indorsement concerning Private Andrews .....IX, 279
Jan. 7 To C. J. Wright and C. K. Hawkes IX, 280
Jan. 7 Message to Congress.....IX, 280
Jan. 11 *To Robert T. Lincoln.....IX, 281
Jan. 11 To Secretary Salmon P. Chase....IX, 281
Jan. 12 Message to U. S. Senate.....IX, 281
Jan. 13 To Gen. N. P. Banks.....IX, 282
Jan. 13 *To Major Laidley.....IX, 283
Jan. 13 To Gen. Q. A. Gillmore.....IX, 283
Jan. 16 To Crosby and Nichols.....IX, 284
Jan. 17 To Gov. F. E. Bramlette.....IX, 285
Jan. 18 To T. B. Bryan.....IX, 286

Jan. 19	*To Robert T. Lincoln	IX, 286
Jan. 20	To Gen. J. J. Reynolds	IX, 287
Jan. 20	To Gen. Frederick Steele	IX, 289
Jan. 20	Message to Congress	IX, 291
Jan. 21	Message to U. S. Senate	IX, 292
Jan. 22	To Officer in Command at Fort Independence	IX, 292
Jan. 23	To A. Lewis	IX, 292
Jan. 25	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	IX, 295
Jan. 26	Order approving Trade Regulations	IX, 295
Jan. 27	To Gen. Frederick Steele	IX, 296
Jan. 27	*To Gen. J. G. Foster	IX, 297
Jan. 28	To Gen. H. W. Halleck	IX, 297
Jan. 28	*To E. Stanley	IX, 297
Jan. 28	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	IX, 298
Jan. 29	*To Gen. D. E. Sickles	IX, 299
Jan. 29	Message to U. S. Senate	IX, 299
Jan. 30	To Gen. Frederick Steele	IX, 299
Jan. 31	To Gen. N. P. Banks	IX, 300
(Feb.?)	*Extract from letter to Gen. James Wadsworth	XI, 130
Feb. 1	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	IX, 301
Feb. 1	Order for Draft of 500,000 Men	IX, 302
Feb. 3	*Gov. Richard Yates	IX, 302
Feb. 4	To Edward Everett	IX, 302
Feb. 4	Message to U. S. Senate	IX, 303
Feb. 5	Indorsement relating to Administration of Oath	IX, 303
Feb. 5	Message to U. S. Senate	IX, 304
Feb. 6	To Gov. Isaac Murphy	IX, 304

Feb. 6	Account of Emancipation Proclamation related to F. B. Carpenter	X,	1
Feb. 8	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	4
Feb. 10	*To Gen. D. E. Sickles	X,	4
Feb. 11	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	4
Feb. 12	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X,	6
Feb. 13	Indorsement on Modifying Order relating to Methodist Churches in Rebel States	X,	7
Feb. 13	To Horace Maynard	X,	7
Feb. 15	To Gen. J. M. Thayer	X,	8
Feb. 15	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X,	8
Feb. 15	To Gen. D. E. Sickles	X,	9
Feb. 16	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	X,	10
Feb. 16	Message to Congress	X,	10
Feb. 17	*To Gen. Frederick Steele	X,	11
Feb. 17	To W. M. Fishback	X,	11
Feb. 18	Draft of Letter to Gov. J. A. Andrew	X,	12
Feb. 18	Proclamation concerning Blockade	X,	14
Feb. 20	To Warren Jordan	X,	17
Feb. 20	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X,	17
Feb. 22	Message to Congress	X,	18
Feb. 22	*To Gen. Frederick Steele	X,	18
Feb. 22	*To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	X,	19
Feb. 23	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X,	19
Feb. 25	To Gen. Frederick Steele	X,	19
Feb. 25	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	20
Feb. 26	*To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	20
Feb. 26	*To W. Jayne	X,	20

Feb. 27	To E. H. East	X,	21
Feb. 27	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	22
Feb. 27	To Gen. J. W. Davidson	X,	24
Feb. 28	To Gen. L. Thomas	X,	24
Feb. 29	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X,	25
Feb. 29	Message to U. S. House of Representatives	X,	26
March 1	To Gen. L. Thomas	X,	26
March 1	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	27
March 2	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	28
March 2	*Pass for Mrs. Rumsey	X,	28
March 3	*To Gen. Frederick Steele	X,	29
March 4	*To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	29
March 4	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X,	29
March 4	Memorandum about Churches	X,	30
March 7	To John A. J. Creswell	X,	30
March 7	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	31
March 7	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	32
March 9	Message to U. S. Senate	X,	32
March 9	Address to Gen. U. S. Grant	X,	33
March 9	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	X,	34
March 10	Order assigning U. S. Grant to Command of the Armies of the United States	X,	35
March 10	Memorandum relating to Amsterdam Projectile	X,	35
March 10	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	X,	35
March 10	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X,	36
March 12	Message to U. S. Senate	X,	36
March 12	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	37
March 12	To Gov. Isaac Murphy	X,	37

March 12	To W. M. Fishback.....X,	37
March 13	To M. P. Gentry.....X,	38
March 13	To Gov. Michael Hahn.....X,	38
March 13	To Gen. Carl Schurz.....X,	39
March 14	Message to Congress.....X,	40
March 14	Message to Congress.....X,	40
March 14	*To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X,	41
March 15	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X,	41
March 15	Pass for Gen. D. E. Sickles.....X,	42
March 15	Indorsement regarding Church....X,	42
March 15	To Gov. Michael Hahn.....X,	42
March 16	To Gov. Isaac Murphy.....X,	43
March 17	To John A. J. Creswell.....X,	43
March 17	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X,	43
March 18	Draft of Letter to Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.....X,	44
March 18	Remarks on closing a Sanitary Fair in Baltimore.....X,	48
March 18	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X,	49
March 21	Reply to Committee from Working-men's Association in New York..X,	50
March 22	*To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X,	54
March 22	*To Gov. John Evans.....X,	54
March 23	To Gen. Carl Schurz.....X,	55
March 25	To Thurlow Weed.....X,	56
March 25	To B. B. French.....X,	56
March 26	Proclamation about Amnesty.....X,	58
March 28	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton...X,	60
March 29	To Gen. G. G. Meade.....X,	61
March 29	Message to Congress.....X,	62
March 29	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X,	62

March 29	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	X,	62
March 30	*To R. M. Corwine	X,	63
April 4	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	X,	63
April 4	To A. W. Thompson	X,	64
April 4	To A. G. Hodges	X,	65
April 5	To Mrs. Horace Mann	X,	68
April 5	Unfinished Draft of Letter to Gen. N. P. Banks	X,	69
April 5	To Gov. John Brough	X,	70
April 6	*To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	71
April 7	To Gov. William Dennison	X,	71
April 7	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	71
April 9	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	X,	72
April 11	Memorandum for Mrs. Hunt	X,	72
April 11	Memorandum for Mrs. Keenan	X,	73
April 11	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	73
April 12	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	73
April 13	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	74
April 13	To Gen. L. Thomas	X,	74
April 17	*To Gen. G. G. Meade	X,	75
April 18	Address at Sanitary Fair in Baltimore	X,	76
April 20	*To Calvin Truesdale	X,	80
April 20	*Telegram concerning Charles Carpenter	X,	81
April 21	*Telegrams concerning Charles Carpenter	X,	81
April 23	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	X,	82
April 23	Indorsement on Offer of Troops	X,	82
April 23	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	82
April 23	Message to Congress	X,	84

April 25	*To John Williams.....X,	84
April 25	*To Gen. G. G. Meade.....X,	85
April 27	To Gov. Isaac Murphy.....X,	85
April 28	Message to Congress.....X,	86
April 28	Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....X,	87
April 28	To Mrs. Lincoln.....X,	89
April 30	To J. R. Fry.....X,	89
April 30	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X,	90
May 2	To Gen. S. A. Hurlbut.....X,	91
May 2	Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....X,	91
May 3	To Members of the Cabinet.....X,	92
May 4	To Gen. W. T. Sherman.....X,	93
May 5	*To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.....X,	93
May 7	Message to U. S. Senate.....X,	93
May 9	Recommendation of Thanksgiving X,	94
May 9	Response to Serenade.....X,	95
May 9	*To Mrs. S. B. Meconkey.....X,	96
May 10	*To Gen. Lew Wallace.....X,	97
May 11	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.....X,	97
May 12	To F. B. Loomis.....X,	97
May 12	To S. C. Pomeroy.....X,	98
May 13	To Gen. Lew Wallace.....X,	98
May 13	Indorsement about a Church at Memphis .....X,	99
May 14	Reply to a Methodist Delegation...X,	99
May 14	Indorsement of Letter of Gov. Thomas Carney.....X,	100
May 14	Reply to Baptist Delegation.....X,	101

May 18	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase....X,	102
May 18	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X,	102
May 18	To Gen. John A. Dix.....X,	103
May 18	*To Gov. Richard Yates.....X,	104
May 18	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X,	104
May 19	*To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....X,	105
May 20	*To F. Schmedding.....X,	105
May 20	To A. Mackay.....X,	105
May 21	To Gov. O. P. Morton and to Other Governors.....X,	106
May 21	*Telegram concerning Henry Sack..X,	106
May 23	*Telegram concerning Henry Sack..X,	106
May 24	*Telegram concerning Henry Sack..X,	106
May 24	Indorsement regarding New York "Times".....X,	107
May 24	To Gov. John Brough.....X,	107
May 25	*To Gen. G. G. Meade.....X,	107
May 25	To I. N. Arnold.....X,	108
May 26	*Memorandum concerning Transportation of New York Naval Brigade.....XI,	131
May 27	To R. W. Thompson.....X,	108
May 28	To C. A. Walborn.....X,	109
May 30	To Dr. Ide and Others.....X,	109
May 30	To John H. Bryant.....X,	110
June 3	To F. A. Conkling and Others....X,	112
June 5	Indorsement on Letter to Major John Hay.....X,	113
June 7 & 8	Platform of the Union National Convention in Baltimore.....X,	118
June 8	Message to Congress.....X,	116

June 8 To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.....X, 116
June 9 Reply to Committee notifying Lincoln of Renomination.....X, 116
June 9 Reply to Ohio Delegation from National Union League.....X, 122
June 10 To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.....X, 123
June 11 *Address to Envoy from Hawaiian Islands .....XI, 132
June 11 Remarks to an Ohio Regiment....X, 123
June 13 To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.....X, 124
June 13 To Gen. L. Thomas.....X, 125
June 13 *To T. Webster.....X, 125
June 14 To Gen. S. G. Burbridge.....X, 125
June 15 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 126
June 15 To Secretary Salmon P. Chase....X, 126
June 16 Speech at a Sanitary Fair in Philadelphia .....X, 127
June 17 To Lyman Trumbull.....X, 130
June 18 *Recommendation of a Newspaper..X, 131
June 18 *To C. A. Walborn.....X, 131
June 19 *To Mrs. Lincoln.....X, 131
June 20 Draft of Letter to Gov. John Brough and Gen. S. P. Heintzelman....X, 132
June 20 Memorandum of Interview with Postmaster of Philadelphia.....X, 132
June 24 To Attorney-General Edward Bates X, 133
June 24 To Mrs. Lincoln.....X, 134
June 24 To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans.....X, 134
June 25 To Paymaster-General.....X, 134
June 27 To William Cullen Bryant.....X, 135

June 27	To William Dennison and Others accepting Renomination	X, 136
June 28	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X, 137
June 28	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X, 138
June 29	To Gen. Frederick Steele	X, 139
June 29	*To General U. S. Grant	X, 140
June 29	To Mrs. Lincoln	X, 140
June 30	To Secretary Salmon P. Chase	X, 140
June 30	To David Tod	X, 141
July 2	To Judge S. H. Treat	X, 141
July 4	To John L. Scripps	X, 141
July 5	To J. W. Garrett	X, 142
July 5	To Gov. Horatio Seymour	X, 142
July 5	Proclamation suspending Writ of Habeas Corpus	X, 144
July 5	Indorsement about Memphis Church	X, 148
July 7	Proclamation for a Day of Prayer	X, 149
July 8	Proclamation concerning Reconstruction	X, 152
July 9	To Horace Greeley	X, 154
July 9	To J. W. Garrett	X, 154
July 9	To Gen. Lew Wallace	X, 155
July 10	To T. Swann and Others	X, 155
July 10	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 155
July 11	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 156
July 12	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 157
July 14	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X, 157
July (14?)	Memorandum read to Cabinet	X, 158
July 15	To Horace Greeley	X, 158

July 15 To Horace Greeley.....X, 159
July 16 To Maj. John Hay.....X, 159
July 16 Safe-Conduct for C. C. Clay and Others .....X, 159
July 17 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 160
July 17 To Gen. David Hunter.....X, 160
July 17 *To Col. Frank Wolford.....X, 162
July 18 Announcement concerning Terms of Peace .....X, 161
July 18 Proclamation calling for 500,000 Volunteers .....X, 164
July 18 To Gen. W. T. Sherman.....X, 166
July 20 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 167
July 20 *To J. L. Wright.....X, 168
July 20 To J. L. Scripps.....X, 168
July 22 To O. B. Ficklin.....X, 168
July 23 Reply to Commander Bertinatti, Italian Envoy Extraordinary....X, 169
July 23 To Gen. David Hunter.....X, 170
July 25 To Abram Wakeman.....X, 170
July 25 *To Gov. A. G. Curtin.....X, 171
July 25 *To W. O. Snider.....X, 172
July 25 To Gen. E. R. S. Canby.....X, 172
July 25 To J. C. Welling.....X, 173
July 26 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 174
July 26 To Gen. W. T. Sherman.....X, 174
July 27 To Gen. David Hunter.....X, 175
July 27 To Gen. H. W. Halleck.....X, 175
July 27 To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....X, 176
July 28 To John W. Forney.....X, 177
July 28 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 177

July 29	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X,	177
July 30	*To Gen. David Hunter	X,	178
July 30	*To M. Odell	X,	178
July 30	To J. A. Bingham	X,	178
July 30	*To Gen. J. A. McClernand	X,	178
Aug. 2	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	X,	179
Aug. 3	Indorsement on Letter from Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	179
Aug. 3	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X,	180
Aug. 4	To Col. Frank Wolford	X,	180
Aug. 5	To August McMichael	X,	181
Aug. 5	*To Gov. F. H. Peirpoint	X,	182
Aug. 6	To Horace Greeley	X,	182
Aug. 6	Unfinished Draft of Letter to——	X,	183
Aug. 6	*To Anson Miller	X,	183
Aug. 8	*To Horace Greeley	X,	183
Aug. 8	To Gen. S. G. Burbridge	X,	184
Aug. 9	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X,	321
Aug. 9	To Horace Greeley	X,	184
Aug. 9	To Gen. N. P. Banks	X,	185
Aug. 9	To Gen. E. R. S. Canby	X,	186
Aug. 11	To Gen. Carl Schurz	X,	186
Aug. 11	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X,	187
Aug. 14	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X,	187
Aug. 15	To Gen. W. T. Sherman	X,	188
Aug. (15?)	Interview with John T. Mills	X,	189
Aug. 15	To Henry J. Raymond	X,	191
Aug. 15	*Indorsement of Application for Employment	X,	192
Aug. 16	To Ward Hunt	X,	192
Aug. 17	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X,	193

Aug. 17	Unfinished Draft of Letter to Charles D. Robinson	X, 193
Aug. 18	Proclamation concerning Commercial Regulations	X, 197
Aug. 18	Address to 164th Ohio Regiment	X, 199
Aug. 18	*To Col. G. W. Bridges	X, 200
Aug. 19	To D. S. D. Baldwin	X, 201
Aug. 20	*To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X, 201
Aug. 22	Order for Release of Joseph Howard	X, 201
Aug. 22	Address to 166th Ohio Regiment	X, 202
Aug. 23	Memorandum concerning Re-election of Administration	X, 203
Aug. 24	Draft of Instructions to Henry J. Raymond	X, 204
Aug. 26	*To Gov. Andrew Johnson	X, 205
Aug. 27	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X, 206
Aug. 28	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 206
Aug. 29	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 206
Aug. 31	To Mrs. Lincoln	X, 206
Aug. 31	Order concerning Cotton	X, 207
Aug. 31	Address to 148th Ohio Regiment	X, 208
Sept. 1	To Col. H. C. Huidekoper	X, 210
Sept. 1	To Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair	X, 211
Sept. 3	To Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair	X, 211
Sept. 3	Proclamation of Thanksgiving	X, 211
Sept. 3	Order of Thanks and Rejoicing	X, 212
Sept. 3	Order of Thanks and Rejoicing	X, 213
Sept. 3	Order of Thanks and Rejoicing	X, 213

Sept. 4	To Gen. S. G. Burbridge	X, 214
Sept. 4	To Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney	X, 215
Sept. 5	Reply to Señor Blas Bruzual, Minister from Venezuela	X, 216
Sept. 7	Reply to Committtee of Colored People presenting Bible	X, 217
Sept. 8	*Telegrams concerning Edward Conley	X, 218
Sept. 8	To Mrs. Lincoln	X, 219
Sept. 8	*To Gov. W. Pickering	X, 219
Sept. 10	Order of Thanks to Hundred-Day Troops from Ohio	X, 219
Sept. 11	*To Mrs. Lincoln	X, 220
Sept. 12	Unfinished Draft of Letter to Isaac M. Schermerhorn	X, 220
Sept. 12	To Isaac M. Schermerhorn	X, 222
Sept. 12	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 223
Sept. 13	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X, 224
Sept. 13	*To James G. Blaine	X, 224
Sept. 15	To Gen. J. B. Steedman	X, 224
Sept. 17	To Gen. W. T. Sherman	X, 225
Sept. 19	To Gen. W. T. Sherman	X, 225
Sept. 19	To J. S. TenEyck	X, 226
Sept. 20	To Gen. P. H. Sheridan	X, 227
Sept. 21	To Gen. E. R. S. Canby	X, 227
Sept. 22	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 228
Sept. 23	To Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair	X, 228
Sept. 24	Order concerning Purchase of Products in Insurrectionary States	X, 230
Sept. 24	To William Dennison	X, 234

Sept. 26	To Gen. S. G. Burbridge	X, 234
Sept. 26	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	X, 234
Sept. 27	To Gen. W. T. Sherman	X, 235
Sept. 27	To William Dennison	X, 235
Sept. 27	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X, 235
Sept. 28	To J. R. Cannon	X, 236
Sept. 28	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X, 236
Sept. 29	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 236
Oct. 1	Order of Thanks to Hundred-Day Troops	X, 237
Oct. 3	*Recommendation of Mrs. Lotty Hough	X, 238
Oct. 5	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 238
Oct. 9	To Gen. Simon Cameron	X, 239
Oct. 10	To Henry W. Hoffman	X, 239
Oct. 10	*To Gov. A. G. Curtin	X, 240
Oct. 11	*To Gen. Simon Cameron	X, 240
Oct. 11	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	X, 240
Oct. 11	To Robert T. Lincoln	X, 241
Oct. 12	To Gen. U. S. Grant	X, 241
Oct. 13	*To G. S. Orth	X, 241
Oct. 13	To Gov. O. P. Morton	X, 242
Oct. 14	To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler	X, 242
Oct. 17	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	X, 242
Oct. 19	Response to a Serenade	X, 243
Oct. 20	Proclamation of Thanksgiving	X, 245
Oct. 21	To John G. Nicolay	X, 247
Oct. 22	To William B. Campbell and Others	X, 248
Oct. 22	To Gen. P. H. Sheridan	X, 251
Oct. 23	To Gen. G. H. Thomas	X, 251

Oct. 24	Address to 189th New York Regiment	X, 252
Oct. 25	*To Colonel Robinson	X, 253
Oct. 26	To Mrs. George W. Swift	X, 253
Oct. 26	Unfinished Draft of Letter to J. R. Underwood and H. Grider	X, 253
Oct. 27	To Gen. S. G. Burbridge	X, 255
Oct. 28	To A. G. Hodges	X, 256
Oct. 28	To J. A. Prall	X, 256
Oct. 31	*To T. T. Davis	X, 257
Oct. 31	Proclamation admitting Nevada into the Union	X, 257
Oct. 31	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X, 258
Nov. 5	Indorsement on Letter from Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X, 259
Nov. 6	To Secretary William H. Seward	X, 259
Nov. 6	To Naval Officer at Mobile Bay	X, 260
Nov. 8	To Sailors' Fair at Boston	X, 260
Nov. 8	To A. H. Rice	X, 261
Nov. 8	To Secretary William H. Seward	X, 261
Nov. 9	Response to a Serenade	X, 261
Nov. 10	*To H. W. Hoffman	X, 262
Nov. 10	Response to a Serenade	X, 263
Nov. 10	To Gen. S. G. Burbridge	X, 265
Nov. 10	To Gov. T. E. Bramlette	X, 265
Nov. 12	To Gen. John A. Logan	X, 266
Nov. 14	To Gen. S. A. Hurlbut	X, 266
Nov. 15	*To Gen. G. H. Thomas	X, 269
Nov. 15	*To W. H. Purnell	X, 269
Nov. 15	To Jesse K. Dubois	X, 269
Nov. 15	To Loyal Governors	X, 270

Nov. 17	Reply to Maryland Union Committee	X, 270
Nov. 19	Proclamation concerning Blockade	X, 272
Nov. 19	To Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	X, 273
Nov. 21	To A. R. Wright	X, 274
Nov. 21	To Mrs. Bixby	X, 274
Nov. 21	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	X, 275
Nov. 21	To John Phillips	X, 275
Nov. 22	To Gov. T. E. Bramlette	X, 276
Nov. 25	To Gov. A. G. Curtin	X, 277
Nov. 26	To Gen. N. P. Banks	X, 277
Nov. 29	To Gov. C. P. Stone	X, 277
Dec. 1	To James Speed	X, 278
Dec. 1	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	X, 278
Dec. 1	To Gov. Andrew Johnson	X, 278
Dec. 2	To Gen. N. P. Banks	X, 278
Dec. 3	*Order regarding Steamer "Funayma Solace"	XI, 133
Dec. 3	Memorandum regarding Two Prisoners	X, 279
Dec. 5	Message to Congress	X, 280
Dec. 5	Message to Congress	X, 281
Dec. 6	Annual Message to Congress	X, 283
Dec. 6	Response to a Serenade	X, 310
Dec. 6	Nomination of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase	X, 311
Dec. 7	*To Gov. W. P. Hall	X, 311
Dec. 12	To Gen. E. R. S. Canby	X, 312
Dec. 13	To Gen. Lew Wallace	X, 314
Dec. 13	To Gen. G. M. Dodge	X, 315
Dec. 16	*Concerning H. Walters	X, 315

Dec. 16 To Gen. G. H. Thomas.....X, 315
Dec. 19 Call for 300,000 Volunteers.....X, 315
Dec. 19 To Gen. Lew Wallace.....X, 318
Dec. 19 To Gen. Lew Wallace.....X, 318
Dec. 19 To Soldiers' Fair at Springfield, Mass. .....X, 319
Dec. 19 To Joseph H. Choate.....X, 319
Dec. 21 To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X, 320
Dec. 23 Order to Commanders to pass James Harrison.....X, 323
Dec. 24 To Gen. John A. McClernand....X, 324
Dec. 26 To Gen. W. T. Sherman.....X, 325
Dec. 27 To Dr. John Maclean.....X, 326
Dec. 28 Pass for F. P. Blair, Sr.....X, 327
Dec. 28 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 327
Dec. 28 To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X, 327
Dec. 29 To Attorney-General James Speed.X, 328
Dec. 29 *To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X, 328
Dec. 30 *To Col. A. J. Warner.....X, 329
Dec. 31 *To Col. A. J. Warner.....X, 329

1865

Jan. 2 To Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase.X, 329
Jan. 5 Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....X, 330
Jan. 5 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 331
Jan. 6 To Gen. N. J. T. Dana.....X, 331
Jan. 7 Message to Congress.....X, 332
Jan. 7 To R. L. Ferguson.....X, 332
Jan. 9 To Mrs. —— —— .....X, 333
Jan. 9 To Lyman Trumbull.....X, 333

Jan. 9 Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....X, 334
Jan. 10 Proclamation concerning Commerce.X, 336
Jan. 10 To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X, 338
Jan. 11 To Gen. Joseph Hooker.....X, 338
Jan. 12 To H. A. Swift.....X, 339
Jan. 13 To Gen. Benjamin F. Butler.....X, 339
Jan. 14 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 339
Jan. 14 To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....X, 340
Jan. 15 To Gen. G. M. Dodge.....X, 340
Jan. 17 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton...X, 341
Jan. 18 To Richard T. Jacob.....X, 341
Jan. 18 To F. P. Blair, Sr.....X, 342
Jan. 19 To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton...X, 342
Jan. 19 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 343
Jan. 19 *To Gen. E. O. C. Ord.....X, 343
Jan. 21 *To Gen. Lew Wallace.....X, 344
Jan. 22 *To Gen. Lew Wallace.....X, 344
Jan. 24 To William Lloyd Garrison.....X, 344
Jan. 24 To Gen. G. M. Dodge.....X, 345
Jan. 24 To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....X, 345
Jan. 24 Reply to a Committee.....X, 346
Jan. 26 To A. Wakeman.....X, 347
Jan. 28 Indorsement on Letter to F. P. Blair, Sr. .....X, 347
Jan. 30 Instructions to Maj. T. T. Eckert..X, 348
Jan. 30 *To Gen. E. O. C. Ord.....X, 349
Jan. 31 *Indorsement on Letter from J. M. Ashley .....X, 349
Jan. 31 To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X, 350
Jan. 31 To Gen. Lew Wallace.....X, 350

Jan. 31	To Gen. Lew Wallace.....X,	350
Jan. 31	To Secretary William H. Seward..X,	351
Jan. 31	Response to a Serenade.....X,	352
Feb. 1	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X,	354
Feb. 1	To Gov. John A. Andrew.....X,	354
Feb. 1	To Maj. T. T. Eckert.....X,	354
Feb. (1?)	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X,	354
Feb. 2	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....X,	355
Feb. 2	To Secretary William H. Seward..X,	355
Feb. 3	To J. F. Driggs.....X,	355
Feb. 4	To Officer commanding at Johnson's Island .....X,	356
Feb. 5	Draft of Message to Congress....XI,	1
Feb. 5	To Gov. T. E. Bramlette.....XI,	3
Feb. 6	To Gov. Andrew Johnson.....XI,	3
Feb. 6	Order to make Corrections in the Draft .....XI,	4
Feb. 7	To Lieutenant-Colonel Glenn.....XI,	4
Feb. 7	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....XI,	5
Feb. 8	To Gen. U. S. Grant.....XI,	5
Feb. 8	*To Mark Hoyt.....XI,	6
Feb. 8	To Governor Smith.....XI,	6
Feb. 8	Message to Congress.....XI,	8
Feb. 9	Message to Congress.....XI,	9
Feb. 9	Reply to Committee of Congress..XI,	10
Feb. 10	Message to U. S. House of Representatives .....XI,	10
Feb. 10	Message to U. S. Senate.....XI,	28
Feb. 10	To A. H. Stephens.....XI,	32
Feb. 11	*Letters Indorsing —— Hammond.XI,	32
Feb. 12	To Gen. John Pope.....XI,	33

Feb. 13	To Commanding Officers in West Tennessee ..... XI,	33
Feb. 13	Message to Congress ..... XI,	34
Feb. 14	To Gen. John Pope ..... XI,	35
Feb. 15	To Gen. John Pope ..... XI,	35
Feb. 17	Proclamation convening U. S. Senate in Extra Session ..... XI,	35
Feb. 17	*To Officer in Command at Harper's Ferry ..... XI,	37
Feb. 18	To Gen. N. J. T. Dana ..... XI,	37
Feb. 20	To James Gordon Bennett ..... XI,	38
Feb. 20	To Gov. T. C. Fletcher on Affairs in Missouri ..... XI,	38
Feb. 24	*To Gen. John Pope ..... XI,	39
Feb. 24	To Gen. U. S. Grant ..... XI,	39
Feb. 24	To Gen. J. M. Palmer ..... XI,	40
Feb. 25	To Gen. U. S. Grant ..... XI,	40
Feb. 27	To Henry Ward Beecher ..... XI,	41
Feb. 27	To Gen. U. S. Grant ..... XI,	41
Feb. 27	To Gov. T. C. Fletcher ..... XI,	41
Feb. 27	*Order to —— Dickson ..... XI,	42
March 1	To Gen. Winfield Scott and Others. XI,	42
March 2	To Gen. U. S. Grant ..... XI,	43
March 3	To Gen. U. S. Grant ..... XI,	43
March 4	Second Inaugural Address ..... XI,	44
March 5	To Charles Sumner ..... XI,	47
March 6	To Secretary William H. Seward .. XI,	47
March 7	To Gen. U. S. Grant ..... XI,	47
March 7	To Gen. John Pope ..... XI,	48
March 8	To Gen. U. S. Grant ..... XI,	48
March 9	To Gen. U. S. Grant ..... XI,	50

March 11	Proclamation offering Pardon to Deserters	XI,	51
March 13	To John Z. Goodrich	XI,	53
March 15	To Thurlow Weed	XI,	54
March 17	*To Col. R. M. Hough and Others	XI,	54
March 17	Address to an Indiana Regiment	XI,	55
March 17	Proclamation concerning Indians	XI,	57
March 18	Order annulling Sentence against Benjamin G. Smith and Franklin W. Smith	XI,	58
March 19	To Gen. John Pope	XI,	59
March 20	To Governor Swann	XI,	59
March 20	*To Gen. E. O. C. Ord	XI,	59
March 20	To Gen. U. S. Grant	XI,	59
March 21	To Judge W. B. Scates	XI,	60
March 21	To Capt. Robert T. Lincoln	XI,	60
March 22	To Gen. W. S. Hancock	XI,	60
March 23	To Gen. U. S. Grant	XI,	61
March 23	*To Gen. G. M. Dodge	XI,	61
March 25	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	61
March 25	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	61
March 26	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	62
March 27	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	63
March 28	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	63
March 30	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	63
March 31	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	64
April 1	To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	65
April 1	To Gen. U. S. Grant	XI,	65
April 1	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton	XI,	66
April 2	*To Mrs. Lincoln	XI,	66
April 2	*To Mrs. Lincoln	XI,	67

April 2	Telegrams to Secretary Edwin M. Stanton ..... XI,	68
April 3	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.. XI,	70
April 4	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.. XI,	70
April 5	To Gen. N. P. Banks..... XI,	71
April 5	Unsigned Memorandum given to J. A. Campbell..... XI,	71
April 5	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.. XI,	73
April 6	To Gen. U. S. Grant..... XI,	73
April 6	To Gen. G. Weitzel..... XI,	75
April 7	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.. XI,	75
April 7	*To Secretary Edwin M. Stanton.. XI,	76
April 7	*To Gen. U. S. Grant..... XI,	77
April 10	Response to a Call..... XI,	77
April 10	To Gov. F. H. Peirpoint ..... XI,	78
April 11	*To Gen. G. H. Gordon..... XI,	78
April 11	Pass to W. H. Lamon and Friend. XI,	78
April 11	Proclamation of Blockade..... XI,	79
April 11	Proclamation opening Port of Key West, Fla..... XI,	81
April 11	Proclamation concerning Immunity of U. S. Vessels..... XI,	82
April 11	Last Public Address..... XI,	84
April 12	To Gen. G. Weitzel..... XI,	92
April 12	To Gen. G. Weitzel..... XI,	92
April 14	*To Gen. U. S. Grant..... XI,	94
April 14	*To General Van Alen..... XI,	94
April 14	*To George Ashmun..... XI,	94
Undated	*Card to Secretary of War..... XI,	133

General Index.

General Index.

A

Abell, Bennett, appointment of .....I, 55

Abolition, accession of Lincoln to .....III, 210

— civil war not prosecuted for X, 191

— country swept by..III, 210

— debt of, to State rights.V, 7

— orators of, Douglas sneers at.....III, 216

— origin of movement.III, 268

— philosophy, Douglas opposes.....III, 96

— proposed by Act of Congress in D. C.....II, 96

— societies, effect of...III, 77

See also, African slave-trade; Brown, John; Emancipation; Everett, Edward; Garrison, William Lloyd; Lovejoy, Owen; Negro; Phillips, Wendell; Slavery.

Abolition party, coalition of, IV, 6

— inimical to the South.IV, 2

— organized in Ill....III, 204

Abolitionists, apportionment of legislative offices to..IV, 15

— compact to elect L. to U. S. Senate.....IV, 14

— compactness of, organization.....IV, 12

— demands of.....IV, 12

— dislike for.....II, 243

— elect Trumbull to U. S. Senate.....IV, 170

— hopes of.....IV, 5

— inconsistencies of....IV, 81

— Lincoln said to be..... II, 287; IV, 277

— — supported by....IV, 174

— negro equality declared by VI, 26

— sectionalism of....IV, 170

— silence of.....IV, 38

"Abraham Lincoln," by Wm. Cullen Bryant.....VI, xix

"Abraham Lincoln as a Man Inspired of God," by Henry Watterson .....III, v

"Abraham Lincoln and the Promises of the Declaration of Independence" by Chas. Sumner .....IX, v

"Abraham Lincoln, the Great

Republican," by Wm. McKinley.....V, v
Abrams, Richard M., appeals in behalf of,.....IX, 125
Accomac County, Va., Confederate soldiers paroled in IX, 90
— takes oath .....VII, 54
Adams, Chas. Francis, anticipated cessation of intercourse with Eng. reported by.....VI, 280
— despatch concerning publications presented to Library of Congress.....VIII, 146
— Hampton Roads Conference reported to .....XI, 29
— minister at London..VII, 91
— proposed minister to Eng... VI, 223
— Seward's corrected despatch to.....VI, 277
— — letter of instruction to.. XI, viii
See also, Great Britain, Trent Affair.
Adams, Christopher, candidate for position in Bur. of Construction .....VI, 268
Adams County, Ill., Hanks family in.....V, 286
Adams, D. W., Brig.- Gen., wounded .....IX, 137
Adams, Green, Haggard's telegram sent to.....VIII, 282
— letter to, about arming special force in Ky..VIII, 175
Adams, J. H., supported by L. II, 272
Adams, Jas., Gen., case against .....I, 57
— controversy with.....I, 57
— reply to.....I, 65, 76
Adams, John Quincy, appropriations for internal improvements under II, 32, 39
— cost of administration.I, 126
Addison, John, letter to.II, 129
Adjutant-General, ordered to receive Ind. regiments..... XI, 120
"Admiral P. Tordenskiold," appropriation to owners recommended .....VIII, 96
"Africa," attempt by commander of, to seize Mr. Fauchet VIII, 137
Africa, cotton in.....VII, 110
— return of negroes to..... II, 176, 338
African slave question..... VIII, xvii
African slave-trade, abolition of .....V, 208, 263
— — a Constitutional compromise.....V, 183
— — expected by Fathers.... V, 183
— death penalty for....II, 246
— declared piracy.....II, 246
— failure to suppress...II, 223
— forced on colonies....V. 165
— language of Constitutional prohibition of.....V, 48

African slave-trade (*contd.*)
— legal revival impossible.... II, 208
— message to Congress on suppression of.....VII, 215
— prohibition of..... II, 244, 245, 246; V, 146
— — in Miss..II, 245; V, 299
— proposal to furnish Liberia with gunboat for arrest of.. X, 286
— public opinion formed for revival of.....V, 185
— public sentiment of colonies against.....V, 184
— revival insured by "popular sovereignty" ..... II, 253; V, 137, 182
— suppression of, by treaty with Eng.....IX, 225
— — entrusted to Dept. of Interior.....VII, 47
— ultimate revival after secession certain.....VI, 181
See also, Slave trade; Slavery.
"Afton," steamboat....II, 349
Agricultural exhibition in Hamburg .....VIII, 184
Agricultural fairs, growth of V, 236
— influence of.....V, 237
— usefulness of.....V, 237
Agriculture, annual reports of VII, 47
— Calhoun on.....I, 245
— Commissioner of, remuneration of.....IX, 54
— excessive labor employed in I, 244
— Jackson on.....I, 244
— Jefferson on.....I, 244
— steam power in.....V, 244
— thoroughness in.....V, 239
See also, Commissioner of Agriculture; Department of Agriculture; Hamburg.
" Alabama," destruction.X, 280
Alabama, ceded by Ga..V, 298
— Thirteenth amendment conditionally ratified....X, 352
Albany "Evening Journal," Weed's valedictory.VIII, 209
Albany, N. Y., invitation to visit accepted.....VI, 102
— reply to Mayor of...VI, 136
— reply to Gov. Morgan at... VI, 138
— resolutions of public meeting at.....VIII, 298
"Albemarle," destruction of.. X, 281
— — confirmed.....X, 260
Alden, Jas., Com., received thanks of Congress VII, 162
Aldie's Gap, firing heard at.. VIII, 328
Alexandria, Va., Wadsworth goes to ....VII, 194
Alienage, voting an estoppel against plea of....IX, 229
Aliens, attitude toward..... VIII, 267
— liability to military duty in

U. S.....VIII, 267
— proclamation concerning... VIII, 266
Allegiance; *See,* Oath; Oath of Allegiance.
Allen, —, ...II, 275
— defeat by Archer....II, 266
Allen County, Ky., assessment of rebel sympathizers..... X, 253, 255
Allen, Cyrus M.....VII, 242
— empowered to muster Ind. troops.....VI, 292
Allen, Dupage,.....IV, 50
Allen, J. M., signer of invitation to Clay.....I, 232
Allen, Nathan.....IV, 50
Allen, Robt., Col., letter to... I, 15
Allentown, N. J., trouble with provost-marshal in VIII, 258
Allison, —, Taylor's letter to.. II, 90
Allotment, commissioners for Ia. .....VII, 74
"Alton Courier,".....II, 271
Alton, Ill., debate with Douglas at.....V, 1
— Trumbull's attack upon Douglas at.....IV, 92
Ambition, Lincoln's early..I, 8
— personal....IV, 214; X, 189
Ambos, —, claim of, against Barret .....V, 134
Amendment, to charter of Ill. State bank.....I, 32
See also, Constitution; Thirteenth Amendment.
America, Lincoln, a child of.. VIII, xix
— overland telegraph to Europe from.....X, 286
— undermined by slavery..... II, 248
American Baptist Home Missionary Society, response to .....X, 109
"American classics".VIII, 78
American Colonization Society, speech of Henry Clay before .....II, 174
American Party, Lincoln's repudiation of ..... V, 90; VI, 39, 45
— sensitiveness of.....VI, 47
American people, grief of, at Lincoln's death.X, x, xi, xxii
American Revolution, debt of .....VI 312
— effect of Battle of Trenton upon L.'s mind.....VI, 151
American Tract Society, discord in.....III, 355
— shaken by slavery question V, 55
Ames, —, Bishop, order of War Dept. for control of Methodist Churches....X, 5
Ames gun, Butler asks..X, 224
Ames, Horatio, letter to..... IX, 143
Amnesty for Southern representatives .....VIII, 143

Amnesty (*contd.*)
— general, necessity of..XI, 131
— oath of.....X, 21, 22
— proclamation about.....
IX, 247; X, 58
— persons taking oath of, despoiled of effects....X, 342
— to Helm, Mrs. E. T.IX, 255
— to political prisoners.VII, 100
— to soldiers absent without leave.....VIII, 224
— universal, assured ..XI, 131
Amsterdam projectile.....
IX, 283; X, 35
Ancestors, debt to.....I, 36
— L's Quaker .....II, 15
Anderson, Jos., case of heirs of .....I, 57
Anderson, Robt., Gen., authorized to commission Buckner .....VI, 348
— commanding Fort Sumter..
VI, 188
— despatches withheld.VI, 226
— instructions to.....VI, 239
— invitation to call....VI, 260
— opinion on Fort Sumter...
VI, 203, 300
— order to muster troops.....
VI, 267
— report on Fremont's proclamation.....VI, 359
Anderson, W. G., letter to...
I, 151
Andre, —, hanging of..II, 247
Andrew, John A., Gov. of Mass., Banks' movements reported to.....VII, 196
— letter to.....X, 12
— recruits negro troops..X, 12
— telegram to.VI, 352; X, 354
Andrews, Henry, sentence commuted .....IX, 279
Andrews, Israel D.VIII, 323
Andrews, —, Paymaster-Gen., personal feeling relative to
VIII, 227
Anecdotes, Lincoln's skill at..
III, 209
Annexation; *See,* Cuba; Hayti; Mexico.
Antietam, battle of..VIII, 34
Anthony, —, Sen., assistance solicited ..... XI, 33
Appalachicola, Fla., blockaded .....XI, 80
"Appendix," Lincoln's speech in .....II, 58
— sent to Whig papers.....
II, 50, 51
Appomattox, Federal lines on
XI, 68
Aquia Creek, Lincoln meets Burnside at .....VIII, 87
Aquia Creek R. R., McClellan asked to cut.....VII, 195
Arbitration of Chilean seizure
IX, 226
— disputed boundary..VI, 221
— domestic contention.VI, 254
Archer, Col.,defeat of..II, 266
Argentine Republic...X, 285
Argument, in Rock Island Bridge case.....II, 340

Argument (*contd.*)
— notes of....II, 366; XI, 112
Arizona, mineral resources... IX, 230
— question of admission.IV, 75
Arkansas, Congress refuses seats to representatives of.. X, 139
— election plans.....X, 11
— electoral conventions.IX, 296
— emancipation in.....IX, 52
— Federal control of..IX, 246
— Murphy elected governor... X, 85
— reconstruction in..... IX, 277, 289, 299; X, 8
— registry of voters authorized IX, 275
— re-occupation of plantations encouraged.....IX, 293
— re-organization of State government.....X, 130
— repression of Union sentiment in.....VI, 305
— Sickles asked to visit.IX, 299
— — goes to .....X, 20
— Steele given complete charge of elections.....X, 12
— — instructed to order elections.....IX, 291
— — instructed about elections.....IX, 296
— vote desired in.....X, 37
Arlington, Va., concentration of troops at.....VI, 332
Armed neutrality, folly of... VI, 307
Armistice, impracticability of X, 222
Arms, destruction of, in Southern States.....VI, 298
receipt for .....I, 9
Armstrong, A. N., Maj. V, 94
Armstrong, Hannah, telegram to.....IX, 126
Army, U. S., annoyed by slaves .....VII, 121
— call for 100,000 militia to serve six months.VIII, 318
— character of.....VI, 320
— condition of.....VIII, 88
— discipline, L.'s leniency upsets.....X, 44
— Grant made Lieut.-Gen. of. X, 34
— Halleck made Gen.-in-Chief VII, 266
— immediate payment of, authorized by Congress..... VIII, 192
— increase of.....VI, 264
— jealousy between Hooker and Halleck.....VIII, 320
— legality of increase.VI, 308
— negro force proposed for.. VIII, 233
— negro troops to be employed in.....VIII, 186
— negroes in.....IX, 246
— number of slaves in, in 1863, and 1865.....VIII, 288
— observance of Sabbath ordered.....VIII, 77
— pay-system in.....VIII, 227

Army, U. S. (*contd.*)
— raising of armies by substitution.....IX, 79
— re-organization of medical department.....VII, 226
— resignations of Southern officers from....VI, 298, 321
— Scott proposes movements of.....VI, 92
— soldiers enticed to desert from.....VIII, 225
Army and Navy, general movement ordered..VII, 89
— joint expedition under Sherman.....VI, 357
— officers, dismissal of, opinion on.....X, 45
—— aid Brown .....VI, 89
See also, Army, U. S.; Navy, U. S.
Army Corps, organization....VII, 156
Army of the James....XI, 59
Army of the Potomac, arrest of Stone .....X, 69
— Burnside in command.....VIII, 72
— — relieved from.VIII, 204
— — resignation of.VIII, 177
— changes in, only by L.'s orders.....VII, 117
— congratulations to.VIII, 149
— Franklin relieved from duty in.....VIII, 204
— Heintzelman in command of Third corps.....VII, 116
— heroism of, praised.VII, 261
Army of Potomac (*contd.*)
— horses supplied to..VIII, 69
— Hooker assigned to command.....VIII, 204
— — letter to, on taking command.....VIII, 206
— — plan of campaign against Richmond.....VIII, 243
— — reported retreat VIII, 264
— — to command Porter's corps.....VIII, 73
— Hunter to command Burnside's division.....VIII, 72
— Keyes to command Fourth corps.....VII, 116
— Lee, not Richmond, its main object..VIII, 297; IX, 130
— Lincoln, pleasure of, at movements of.....VIII, 70
— — suggests immediate attack on Lee.....IX, 181
— — visits Harrison's Landing.....VII, 262
— — visits headquarters.XI, 61
— — wishes to "borrow"....VII, 141
— Md. soldiers' vote in.X, 262
— McClellan loses confidence of L.....VIII, 68
— — plans for movements of.VII, 92
— — relieved of command....VIII, 72
— — takes field at head of...VII, 129
— McDowell assigned to First corps.....VII, 116

Army of Potomac (*contd.*)
— N. Y. soldiers' vote in. X, 34
— Navy to co-operate. VII, 118
— plan for movement. VIII, 89
— plan of operations by Franklin and Smith... VIII, 150
— Porter relieved of command VIII, 73
— reserve cavalry corps formed for..... VIII, 176
— Rosecrans choice of Halleck and Stanton for command.. VIII, 206
— Schurz wishes his division withdrawn from.. VIII, 244
— Sumner assigned command of Second corps of. VII, 116
— — relieved from duty in... VIII, 204
— Wheaton's leave of absence IX, 113
See also, Potomac River; Troops, U. S.

Army pensioners, number of in 1864..... X, 301

Army of the Tennessee with Sherman on march to sea.. X, 325

Army of Virginia, Banks commands Second corps.... VII, 236
— Fremont commands First corps..... VII, 236
— McDowell commands Third corps..... VII, 236
— order constituting the..... VII, 235

Army of Virginia (*contd.*)
— organization of.... VII, 236
— plan of operations of..... VII, 236
— Pope in command.. VII, 236

Arnold, Isaac N., letter to, on "Chicago Times" X 108
— nominated ..... X, 141

Arrests, made for private malice in Mo..... VIII, 171
— by process of courts and in cases of rebellion defined... VIII, 304, 305

Arsenals, Confederate seizures of ..... VI, 297

Articles of Confederation, government by..... II, 193
— perpetuity of Union plighted in..... VI, 314

Asbury, Henry, letters to.... III, 197; V. 94; VI, 71

Ashland, Ky., Clay's retirement to..... IV, 163

Ashland, Va., Federal cavalry raid reported at... VIII, 263
— seizure by Northern troops VII, 202

Ashley, Chester, Gen., U. S. Sen., death of..... II, 16

Ashley, J. M., inquiry regarding peace commissioners... X, 349

Ashmun, Geo., U. S. Rep. from Mass., amendment on Mexican War ..... VI, 35
— amendment of, on Mexican War..... IV, 192

Ashmun, Geo. (*contd.*)
— invites L. to attend Soldiers' Fair.....X, 319
— letter to.....VI, 14, 38
— L. votes for his amendment VI, 35
— note to.....XI, 94
— resolutions on Mexican War V, 73
— vote on Mexican War.V, 75
Assessments for Confederate outrages, evils of..VIII, 171
Astor, J. J., Jr., letter to..... IX, 202
Astor, W. B., letter to.IX, 202
Atchison, D. R., Vice-presidency of.....II, 302
Atchison, Kas., predicted growth of.....VI, 6
Atherton's Ferry, Ky., home of L. near.....VI, 26
Atkinson, — removal of.X, 126
Atlanta, Ga., Sherman captures .....X, 211
— — success at.....X, 325
Atlantic and Pacific States, railway and telegraph connection .....X, 299
Atlantic cable, recommended to Congress ..... VIII, 99; IX, 229
Attorney-General, charged with superintendence of proceedings under Confiscation Act .....VIII, 74
Auburn, N. Y., Seward's speech at.....X, 243
Augusta, Ill., Lincoln speaks at .....IV, 68
Austin, Benj., letter of Thos. Jefferson to.....I, 244
Austria, Anson Burlingame proposed as minister to.... VI, 223
Autobiography of Lincoln... II, 368; VI, 24
Autograph sent to Mrs. Swift X, 253
Averell, W. W., Gen., success at Lewisburg.....IX, 204
Avery, —, mail contract.I, 348
Aves Island, claim paid X, 284

B

Babcock, O. E., Lt.-Col., Hampton Roads conference XI, 27
Backus, Abner L., letter to.. IX, 1
Bailey, Joshua F., collector of customs at N. Y.....X, 6
Bailey, Theodorus, Capt., recommended for thanks of Congress .....VII, 161
Baily, —, Gen., report of starvation in La.....X, 227
Baird, Isaac P., charge of desertion .....VII, 309
Baird, Mrs., letter to, about son .....VII, 309
Baker, —,.....II, 275
Baker, E. D., Col.....VII, 62
— cabinet membership desired for.....II, 100

Baker, E. D. (*contd.*)
— defeat of L., by .....I, 263
— interest asked for Taylor.. II, 16
— — of, in Ill. appointments II, 105
— services in Mexican War.. I, 353; II, 85
— signer of call for Whig State Convention....I, 181
— — of Whig circular..... I, 145, 166
— stipulation with.....II, 111
— understanding with..VI, 37
Baker, Ezra, liberty restrained XI, 78
Baker, Jehu, speech at Waterloo, Ill.....IV, 10
Baldwin, Abraham, Constitutional Father...V, 299, 300
— vote against slavery..V, 297
Baldwin, Chas. H., Com., receives thanks of Congress.. VII, 162
Baldwin, D. S. D., Dickinson's note returned..X, 201
Ballot, right of negro soldier to .....XI, 130
Ballots, rightful successor of bullets .....VI, 322
Ball's Bluff, battle of.VII, 62
"Baltic," movements.VII, 129
Baltimore, Md., changes in 1864.....X, 76
— collision of troops with people of.....VI, 251
— committee of colored people, reply to.....X, 217
— convention of Democrats at II, 29; III, 202; IV, 3, 166
— — of 1844, delegates to be instructed for Van Buren.. II, 71
— — resolutions approving vetoes of internal improvements.....II, 67
— — Whig, 1852, at.IV, 3, 166
— Gen. Wallace to retard enemy's march on ...X, 155
— held by Federal forces..... VI, 332
— mob.....VII, 293
— sacking, danger of..X, 155
— salute ordered.....X, 214
— Sanitary Fair at.....X, 76
— Union National Convention, platform of.....X, 118–121
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Meade clears, of enemy IX, 47
— fear for security of..IX, 47
Baltimore "American," characterization of oratory by.. II, 70
Bancroft, Geo., "Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln" .....VIII, v
— opinion of L....V, vii, xxvi
Bankrupt law, position of Cass on.....II, 63
Bangor, Me., military line extended to.....VII, 8
— speech of Jefferson Davis.. at.....V, 24

Bank Speech, Lincoln's, in Ill. legislature.....I, 19
Banking Association, organization of.....VIII, 193
Bank-note circulation, compelled by specie revenue collections .....I, 104
— in D. C., legislation in regard to.....VII, 231
— to be issued by government....VIII, 102; X, 295
— taxation of.....VIII, 193
— to be secured by government X, 295
See also, Currency; Greenbacks; Money; Specie.
Banks, issue of notes by..... VII, 231; VIII, 100, 193
— suspension of issues of.... VIII, 192
— — of specie payment by... VII, 231; VIII, 100, 193
See also, National Banks, State Banks, United States Bank.
Banks, Nathaniel P., Maj.-Gen., at Strasburg..VII, 186
— authority assured...IX, 275
— beaten back.....VII, 187
— Boutwell, Geo. S., letter to IX, 56
— canvass for L. by..IV, 176
— critical position....VII, 177
— Fremont moves against Jackson.....VII, 179, 180
— draft of letter to.....X, 69
— fights Ewell .....VII, 181
Banks, N. P. (*contd.*)
— force to be strengthened... VI, 332
— incapacity "to run an omnibus on Broadway"..IX, 49
— in La.....X, 334
— letter to.....X, 277
— — at Middletown..VII, 230
— — concerning a requisition VIII, 81
— — on Durant .....IX, 200
— — raising negro brigade.. VIII, 234
— La., destitution in...X, 227
— — electoral rights..IX, 282
— — new constitution..X, 186
— — reconstruction in.IX, 282
— — supreme control given to IX, 273
— Miss. River opening, L.'s thanks for.....IX, 56
— moved to Shenandoah Valley.....VII, 214
— news from.....VIII, 332
— operations at Port Hudson.. VIII, 291
— question of resigning.X, 277
— reported as losing an arm.. VIII, 295
— retreat to Williamsport.... VII, 194
— suggestion of, for Cabinet position.....VI, 76
— telegram to.....XI, 71
— — asking information about enemy at Winchester..... VII, 182

Banks, N. P. (*contd.*)
— — saying "watch enemy closely".....VII, 201, 203
— to command Fifth corps... VII, 117
— — Second corps..VII, 236
— to co-operate with Fremont VII, 207
— to form a junction with Grant at Vicksburg..... VIII, 200
— to sustain Fremont at Mount Jackson.....VII, 218
Baptist Home Mission Society, response to....X, 109
Baptist Delegation, reply to X, 101
Barbary Powers, relations with .....X, 287
Barnes, H., Gen., petition of.. X, 339
Barney, Hiram, collector of N. Y. Custom House..X, 6
— despatch to.....VIII, 10
— offered post of minister to Portugal.....X, 6
— removal urged.....X, 138
— retirement rumored..... IX, 281; X, 6
— telegram to.....IX, 205
Barney, H. M., petition of... II, 10
Barren County, Ky., assessment of rebel sympathizers X, 253, 255
Barret, —, attack on Taylor by .....II, 116
Barret, — (*contd.*)
— claim of Columbus Mfg. Co. against.....V, 134
— Democrat partisan...II, 109
Barrett, Jas. A., Col. VII, 139
Barrett, R. F., signer of Whig circular .....I, 145
Barrett, Rich., vote against slavery .....V, 297
Barry, W. T., Postmaster-Gen., appointment to Spanish mission .....I, 134
— favoritism to friends..I, 132
Bartlett, —, N. Y., Naval Brigade, organized.....XI, 131
Bartlett, W. A., Col., dispatch to .....VI, 289
Bartlett, W. O., presence desired in Washington, D. C.. X, 347
Bartley, T. W., letter to.IX, 1
Barnburners, support of Gen. Taylor by.....II, 27
Bates, Edw., Atty.-Gen., letter to .....X, 133
— Homestead law, suggests modification of.....IX, 242
— letter to..... VI, 83, 101, 106, 225
— — on "State troops".VIII, 91
— L.'s invitation to Washington.....VI, 106
— opinion on Fort Sumter.... VI, 217, 230
— political situation of.VI, 20
— suggestion to raise revenue from mineral lands.IX, 243

Bates, Edw. (*contd.*)
— to have charge proceedings under Confiscation Act.... VIII, 74
See also, Secretary of the Interior.
"Battery," Whig paper..II, 58
Baxter's Fire Zouaves VII, 306
Beardsley, H. C., sentenced for desertion.....IX, 189
Beardstown, Ill., flatboat trip from .....VI, 29
Beaufort, N. C., U. S., purchasing agency at....X, 230
— blockade.....XI, 80
Beck, —, keeper of Globe Tavern, Springfield, Ill...I, 268
Bedell, Grace, letter to VI, 63
Beecher, Henry Ward, assassination of L.....X, xviii
— invitation of, to L. to lecture.....VI, 8
— letter to.....XI, 41
— "Loss of Lincoln".....X, v
— opinion on slavery....X, xv
— release of Howard...X, 201
Belgium, King of, award in Chilean seizure ....IX, 226
Bell, David, to be shot at St. Louis .....IX, 84
Bell Henry H., Com., recommended for thanks of Congress .....VII, 161
Bell, John, candidate for president .....VI, 13
— Douglas' manipulation of followers.....VI, 52
Bell, W. M., at Rock Island, discharge asked.....X, 63
"Belleville Advocate," quotation from.....III, 23
Belmont, August, letter to.. VII, 299
Belts, Chas. R., execution suspended .....IX, 292
Benefit of few at expense of many .....I, 105
Bennett, Jas. Gordon, Minister to France, appointment promised .....XI, 38
Bennett, John, appointment of I, 55
— letters to.....
I, 54, 259, 284, 285; II, 295
Benning, Henry L., Brig.-Gen., wounded at Chickamauga .....IX, 137
Berdan, Jas., letter to..... I, 293, 294
Berks County, Pa., Lincoln family in.....II, 15, 24
— removal of President's grandfather from....V, 287
Berrett, Jas. G., unsigned draft of letter to...VII, 148
Berry, Nathaniel S., telegram to.....VI, 352
Berry, H. S., Gov. of N. H., requests L. to call for volunteers .....VII, 249
Berryville, Lee reported near VIII, 316
Bertinatti, Com., reply to Italian envoy.....X, 169

Bible, a cure for blues..I, 180
— L.'s opinion of.....X, 218
— presentation by committee of colored people....X, 217
Big Black River, Grant drives Pemberton over...VIII, 281
Big Blue River, Ind., residence of Josiah Lincoln on II, 181
Bigler, W., Sen., declaration of, on Kan. Enabling Act.. IV, 94, 96, 107, 146, 194, 196
Bill, against Ill. Cent. R. R. Co. II, 288
— draft of, to compensate States abolishing slavery.. VII, 276
— prohibiting circulation of notes less than five dollars.. VII, 231
See also, Currency.
Bingham, John A., Judge at Key West, Fla....IX, 53, 92
— appointed solicitor in U. S. Court of Claims....X, 178
Birchall, C., signer of invitation to Clay.....I, 232
Birchard, M., letter to..IX, 1
Birdsall, —, on rejection of Van Buren by Baltimore Convention .....II, 71
Birney, —, Col.....IX, 150
— asked number of slaves recruited in Md. ....IX, 151
Birney, David B., Gen., nominated Maj-Gen.....X, 32
Birth, Southern, of L....II, vi
Bishop, —, Capt., ed. of "Charleston Courier" I, 354
— position on Mexican War.. I, 354
Bissell, Wm. H., Gov. of Ill., action on McCallister and Stebbins bonds..... IV, 16; V, 133
Bixby, Mrs., letter of condolence to .....X, 274
— — literary style of..I, xxix
Black, Frank S., "The Greatness of Lincoln".....IV, v
Black Hawk War, Lincoln captain of company in..... V, 288; VI, 31; VIII, xx
"Black Republicans"..V, 195
— creed of.....III, 302
— platform of....III, 264, 306
— — adopted in Ill. counties.. III, 310
— pledges of.....III, 264
— principles of.....III, 263
— silence of, in Senate debate III, 301
— Southern bitterness against V, 310
See also, Republican Party.
Black, Wm., J., recommendation of.....II, 266
Blackburn, Eng., distress of operatives at.....VIII, 219
Blackmail, cotton seized for.. X, 172
"Blackstone's Commentaries," XI, 114
Blackwell, R. S., endorser of

L.'s bill against Ill. Cent. R. R. Co.....II, 289
Blaine, Jas. G., news of Me... X, 224
— telegram to.....IX, 124
Blair, Austin, Gov. of Mich., requests call for volunteers VII, 250
Blair, Frank P., Jr., Gen., defection of, from Democratic Party .....IV, 350
— desired to join Gen. McClernand.....VIII, 78
— desires to raise troop in Mo. VI, 339
— gradual emancipation plan defeated....V, 332, 334, 354
— Grant requested to find command for.....X, 41
— L.'s estimate of....IX, 196
— possibility of election for Speaker.....IX, 195
— resignation and re-instatement of.....X, 87, 88
— returns to army.....X, 89
— telegram to....VIII, 76, 77
— to withhold order for relief of Harvey.....VI, 275
— withdraws resignation.X, 84
Blair, F. P., Sr., endorsement on letter.....XI, 13, 16
— Hampton Roads conference XI, 25
— instructions, copy of, to Seward.....X, 351
Jefferson Davis explains his position to.....XI, 11
Blair, F. P., Sr. (*contd.*)
— — reports on visit to..... X, 342, 347
— letter of L. to be shown to Jefferson Davis .....XI, 12
— pass for.....XI, 11
— peace, terms of suggested by .....X, 342
— Richmond, Va., mission to XI, 11
— Texas, invasion of, letter to regarding.....IX, 49
Blair, Montgomery, Postmaster-Gen.., conduct commended .....X, 229
— invites Slave State Representatives to confer.VII, 120
— letter to ..... VI, 190; IX, 195, 206
— — on postmasterships for widows of soldiers...IX, 42
— opinion on Emancipation Proclamation.....X, 2
— — Fort Sumter.VI, 214, 230
— resignation asked....X, 229
— return to Washington ordered.....X, 211
— visit to Fremont....VI, 354
Blake, Marshal B., appointed collector .....VIII, 17
Blake, Wm. H., execution suspended .....IX, 268
Blanchard, M. A., telegram to X, 224
Blandinsville, Ill., L. at..V, 89
Blankenship, E. C., letter to I, 10

Blatchford, Rich. M., money advanced to, for public defense .....VII, 192
— appointment of, as ass't treas. at N. Y.....X, 138
Bledsoe, A. T., appointment of .....I, 242
— signer of invitation to Clay I, 232
— — Whig circular....I, 259
Blenker, Louis, Gen., ordered to command of Fremont.... VII, 138
Bliss, Geo., letter to....IX, 1
Bliss, W. S., Col., offers Loyal Brigade of the North..... VIII, 323
Blittersdorf, Gustave, pardoned .....IX, 170
Blizzard, A., letter to..X, 248
Blockade, Charleston, property of Herman Koppel condemned .....IX, 104
— effect of, on price of cotton X, 312
— effectiveness of, increased.. VI, 331
— extension of.....IX, 236
— Florida ports.....X, 14
— Mobile Bay, order to close X, 260
— order concerning, at Norfolk.....VIII, 74
— prizes, number and value... IX, 236
— proclamation Feb. 18, 1864.. X, 14
Blockade (*contd.*)
— questions arising from..... IX, 224
— raising in various ports.... X, 272
— relaxed at Port of Alexandria, Va.....IX, 135
— rights of, message to Congress concerning....VII, 61
— Southern ports, Great Britain expected to respect.... VI, 281
— — order concerning, Apr. 11, 1865 .....XI, 79
— — proclamation of Apr. 19, Apr. 27, 1861..VI, 248, 256
Bloomington, Ill., Lincoln's visit to .....I, 177
— lost speech at.....II, 308
— "Pantagraph," speech of L. in.....III, 349
— perversion of L.'s speech by Douglas at.....IV, 215
— Republican Party, organization at.....III, 272
— speech of Douglas at.III, 54
— State Convention at.IV, 311
Blount, Wm., vote against slavery .....V, 296
Blow, H. T., letter to, on factional quarrels....VIII, 276
— telegram to on publication of a letter.....IX, 27
Blue Ridge, Geary reports on VII, 197
Blue River, Ind., settlement of Josiah Lincoln on....VI, 25

Blunt, Jas. G., Maj.-Gen., advice to Schofield about..... IX, 150
— encourages Judge Lynch in Kan.....IX, 88
— Gov. Carney complains of.. VIII, 256
— Kansas, not to be removed from department....IX, 38
— letter to on difficulties in Kansas.....IX, 87
— L.'s dissatisfaction with.... IX, 87
— removal not demanded by Carney.....IX, 34
— restraint demanded by Gov. Carney.....IX, 35
Boal, Robt., Dr., letters to.... I, 280; II, 298, 313
Boggs, Chas. Stewart, Com., receives thanks of Congress VII, 162
Boker, Geo. H., "Our Heroic Themes" .....VIII, liii.
— letter to, on being made member of Phila. Union League .....IX, 182
Bolivia, relations with X, 285
Bolsom, Jane C., affidavit in Wright case.....IX, 119
Bond, Benj., recommendation of .....II, 106
Bond, L. Montgomery, letter of .....VI, 62
Bonds, U. S., increasing value of .....VIII, 193
— six per cent.....VII, 276
Boonville, Mo., Ann Todd in I, 268
Border States, appeal to representatives of, to favor compensated emancipation.. VII, 270
— effect of emancipation upon VIII, 33
— R. Mallory at White House conference.....VII, 128
"Boston Advertiser," speech of L. at Worcester in.II, 89
Boston "Courier," Trumbull's speech in .....VI, 74
Boston, Mass., Lincoln in.... II, 89
— proposed sub-treasury at... I, 117
— Sailors' Fair, telegram to.. X, 260
Botsford, Alban B., Capt.... VIII, 175
Botts, John Minor, assurances of, as to South.....VI, 50
Bouck, W. C., Gov. of N. Y. I, 256
Bouligny, John E., correspondence with...VIII, 247
— negotiates for election of La. representatives.VIII, 61
— negotiates for election of New Orleans.....VII, 278
Bounty, distribution of..II, 13
— lands, distribution of in parcels.....II, 13
— — location of, in parcels.. II, 13

Bounty (*contd.*)
— navy, proposal to provide.. IX, 239
Boutwell, Geo. S., Gov. of Mass., Banks' letter to.... IX, 56
Bowden, L. J., action in Wright case.....IX, 115
Bowen, Geo. W., discharge asked by wife.....X, 256
Bowen, Jas., appointment of brigadier-general...VIII, 21
Bowen, S. W......IV, 50
Bowling Green, Ky., Buell's movements on.....VII, 75
— enemy holding railroad at.. VII, 106
— letter to Buell as to an attack on.....VII, 83
Boxing, L.'s participation in.. III, 210
Boyle, F. E., Rev.....VII, 61
dispatch on situation at
Boyle, J. T., Gen., answer to Louisville .....VIII, 26
— in trouble; to call on Halleck .....VII, 275
— ordered to suspend executions..... ....IX, 278
— telegram to.....VIII, 20
— — about whereabouts of Bragg.....VIII, 21
— — at Louisville, about Buell.....VIII, 56
Boyle, S. T., Gen., letter to.. VIII, 210
Boyles, Jesse, Col., empowered to raise Ky. regiment .....VI, 295
Bradford, A. W., Gov. of Md., letter to .....IX, 196
— requests L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 250
— telegram to.....IX, 147
Bragg, Braxton, Gen., account of battle of Chickamauga.. IX, 137
— Buell's troops in pursuit of VIII, 55
— dispatch to Gen. Cooper.... IX, 135
— inquiries about whereabouts of.....VIII, 21, 22
— Johnston re-enforced by.... IX, 66
Bramlette, Thos. E., Gov. of Ky., Houston's discharge ordered .....X, 266
— removal of troops, explained to.....IX, 279, 285
— telegram to.....X, 276
— Thirteenth amendment sent to.....XI, 3
Branch, L. O. B., Gen., defeated at Hanover Court House .....VII, 196
Branham, —, letter to.VI, 99
Brayman, M., letter to.II, 179
Brazos de Santiago, Tex., blockade .....XI, 80
Breck, —, Judge.....X, 29
Breckinridge County, Ky., descendants of Mary Lincoln in .....VI, 25

Breckinridge, John C., alarm of, at Douglas' campaign schemes .....VI, 52
— candidate for president..... VI, 13
— Douglas supporter...V, 216
— order of, copy desired.XI, 40
— treason of.....VIII, 305
Breckenridge, Robt. J., Col. XI, 40
Breese, K. Randolph, Capt., receives thanks of Congress VII, 162
Breese, Sidney, discussion with Douglas .....IV, 8
— opposition to Douglas..... IV, 169, 170
Brewster, Benj. E., correspondence on arrest of Simon Cameron.....VII, 147
Bridges, G. W., Col., care of Wm. R. Bridges.....X, 201
Bridges, R. T., case of.X, 324
Bridges, Wm. R., suspension of execution asked...X, 201
Brigadier-Generals, inefficiency among, in Dept. of Mo... VII, 77
Briggs, Jas. A., letter to.... V, 258
Bright, Jesse D., Vice-presidency of.....II, 293
Bristow Station, affair at... IX, 179
Brimfield, Peoria Co., Ill., burning of post-office at.... II, 10
British North America, arrest of U. S. Consul-General... X, 10
Broadhead, Jas. O., Prov.-Mar.-Gen., supersedes Franklin A. Dick...IX, 158
— telegram to.....IX, 34
Brockman, J. M., letter to... VI, 59
Brooklyn "Eagle," authorship of L.'s epigram III, 349
Brooklyn, N. Y., L. invited to lecture in ....V, 293; VI, 8
"Brooklyn," U. S. S., order to land troops.....VI, 301
Brooks, —, Gen., in command at Pittsburg.....VIII, 325
Brooks, Edw. P., exchanged X, 41, 49
Brooks, Phillips, "Character of Lincoln".....VI, v
Brooks, Preston S., assault on Sumner .....III, 175
— opinion on Constitution.... III, 175
— — perpetuation of slavery.. IV, 33, 374
— — slavery III, 175; V, 66, 335
Brough, —,.....VIII, 326
Brough, John, Gov. of O., draft of letter to, to watch Vallandingham .....X, 132
— sends offer of troops from O.....X, 83
— telegram to, ordering pardon of the 12th Ohio.X, 70

Brough, John (*contd.*)
— — transmitting news from Grant.....X, 107
Brougham, Henry, warning words .....IX, lx
Brougham, Lord, supposed speech of Dallas to...VI, 53
Brown, —, correspondent of "Tribune," detained at Richmond .....VIII, 290
Brown, B. Gratz, Sen., defeat of, gradual emancipation... V, 63, 332
— objection to Pope..IX, 267
— part in relief of Schofield.. IX, 264
— telegram to.....VIII, 176
Brown, Egbert B., Brig.-Gen., Shelby driven out of Mo. by.....X, 341
Brown, Geo. T., election of.. II, 271
Brown, Geo. W., desire to consult with.....VI, 252
— reply to Mayor of Baltimore VI, 251
Brown, Harvey, Col., expedition of .....VI, 233
Brown, Jas., Douglas partisan IV, 190
Brown, Jas. N., letter to V, 87
Brown, John, execution of.. XI, 115
— fate of.....VI, 7
— nature of his effort..V, 318
— not a Republican.V, 314, 315
— Republicans dealt with unfairly over.....V, 315
— warning to rebels...XI, 115
Brown, John C., Brig.-Gen., wounded .....IX, 137
Brown, John O., Gov. Morton asked about.....IX, 35
Brown, Mathias, pardoned... IX, 170
— sentenced .....IX, 188
Brown, W. H., letter to..... V, 283
Brown, Wm. Y., Rev. VII, 61
Browning, —, candidate for Gen. Land Office....II, 105
Browning and Bushnell, letter to.....II, 149
Browning, O. H., criticism of First Inaugural address.. VI, 169
— endorser of L.'s bill against Ill. Cent. R. R. Co...II, 289
— interest asked for Taylor.. II, 17
— letter to..... II, 134, 312; VI, 357; XI, 100
Browning, O. H., Mrs., letter to .....I, 87
Brownsville, Tex., blockade.. XI, 80
— — relaxation of.....X, 16
Brumfield, Wm., husband of Nancy Lincoln.....VI, 25
Brunswick, Ga., blockade.... XI, 80
Bruzual, Blas, Minister from Venezuela, reply to..X, 216
Bryan, Thos. B., thanks for

lithograph of Emancipation Proclamation .....IX, 286
Bryant, John H., letter to, on monument for Hon. Owen Lovejoy .....X, 110
Bryant, Wm. Cullen, "Abraham Lincoln"...VI, xix, 42
— letter to.....I, 89
— — L., asking Sigel's reinstatement .....VIII, 275
— — on Henderson case..... X, 135
— L. introduced by....V, 293
Buchanan County, Mo., troubles in .....IX, 187
Buchanan, Franklin, Com... VIII, 305
Buchanan, Jas. B., conditions of acceptance for nomination IV, 366
— difference with Douglas.... II, 336
— disagreement of, with Douglas.....IV, 187
— Douglas disavows interview with.....III, 240
— effect of policy.....VI, 216
— embodiment of Democratic platform.....IV, 366
— likeness to *Lcar*.....II, 309
— minister to Eng..... III, 330; IV, 160
— on Lecompton Constitution III, 163
— presidential nomination accepted by.....IV, 232
— Pres., election for...II, 308
Buchanan, Jas. B. (*contd.*)
— principle on which elected.. VI, 25
— ruling on admission of Minn.....IV, 29
— slavery in Territories, right of people to decide..VI, 23
— — views on..... VIII, xvi, xxviii
— threatens Douglas....V, 18
— weakness of.....VI, 215
Buchanan party, Douglas' attitude toward.....III, 198
Buckingham, Wm. A., letter to, on loyalty of Conn. people VIII, 185
— requests L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 249
— telegram to.....VI, 352
Buckner, Simon B., Gen., Federal commission for.... VI, 348
— L.'s statement as to Ky.... VI, 325
— treason of.....VIII, 305
Buell, Carlos, Gen., East Tenn. main object of campaign .....VII, 73
— instructions on commercial intercourse.....VII, 118
— letter to, on capture of East Tenn.....VIII, 63
— — on attack on Columbus and Bowling Green.VII, 83
— — on meeting with the enemy.....VII, 128
— movements on Bowling

Green.....VII, 75
— part of command merged into the Dept. of Miss.... VII, 130
— position of, in Ky..VII, 84
— telegram of inquiry about Bragg.....VIII, 22
— — to.....VII, 70
— to co-operate with Gen. Halleck..VII, 71, 74, 84, 98
— troops in pursuit of Bragg.. VIII, 55
Buena Vista, battle of..II, 23
— death of Whig officers..... II, 85
Buffalo Convention, silence of, on Mexican War..II, 94
Buffalo, N. Y., address at... VI, 132
Bulkly, Mrs., accused...X, 20
Bull Run, defeat at....VI, 331
— Pope's disaster.....X, 3
Bullets, folly of appeal to.... VI, 322
Bullitt, Cuthbert, nomination as collector of customs.... VIII, 152
— letter to.....VII, 294
Bunker Hill, Jackson and Ewell near.....VII, 199
Bunker, R. B., appointed attorney for Nev....VIII, 296
Bunn, —, Brig.-Gen., wounded at Chickamauga....IX, 137
Bunn, Jacob,.....VIII, 286
Burbridge, S. G., Gen., action at Cynthiana, Ky....X, 125
Burbridge, S. G. (*contd.*)
— assessments for depredations.....X, 255
— ordered to investigate Harris case.....X, 214
Helm, Emily T., Mrs., directions for dealing with.X, 184
— Houston deports ....X, 265
— report on Meade's discharge of.....X, 234
Bureau for Employment of disabled and discharged soldiers .....XI, 42
Bureau of Ordnance, changes necessary in.....VII, 88
Burlingame, Anson, proposed minister to Austria..VI, 223
Burnet, David G., pres. Republic of Tex., signer of treaty with Santa Anna... I, 347
Burnley, J. Hume, British charge d'affaires.....XI, 9
Burnside, Ambrose E., Maj.-Gen., approves Halleck's letter to.....VIII, 181
— arrests Vallandigham..... VIII, 278
— at Newport News..VII, 277
— backed by L. in arrest of Vallandigham....VIII, 279
— concerted movement of forces in crossing Rappahannock.....VIII, 89
— confers with L....VIII, 88
— correspondence with..... VIII, 177

Burnside, A. E. (*contd.*)
— courage and skill as commander.....VIII, 150
— defeated at Fredericksburg VIII, 149
— dissatisfaction with.IX, 139
— draft of letter to....IX, 139
— draws up plan of movement at Warrentown..... VIII, 178, 179
— drives enemy across the river at London....IX, 111
— East Tenn. relief attempted IX, 64
— has Kingston and Knoxville IX, 111
— in command of Army of Potomac.....VIII, 72
— letter to, on movement across Rappahannock..... VIII, 179
— — about George Patten... VIII, 146
— — at Cumberland Gap.... IX, 118
— — on sale of negroes..... VIII, 257
— — Stahel and Schurz..... VIII, 145
— loss at Rogersville..IX, 204
— menaced from West.IX, 167
— mud march of.....IX, 119
— not to move army without notifying L.....VIII, 154
— ordered to re-enforce McClellan.....VII, 257
— plan for crossing Rappahannock.....VIII, 165
— — marching into Richmond VIII, 88, 89
— raising troops in Tenn..... IX, 175
— ready to attack Lee..... VIII, 88
— relieved from command of Army of Potomac..... VIII, 204
— resignation of....VIII, 177
— strength of army..VIII, 88
— telegram inquiring for King's division....VII, 307
— — to ..... VIII, 147, 262, 334; IX, 42, 141, 175, 204
— — about Pope.VIII, 18, 19
— — about Thomas M. Campbell, spy.....VIII, 280
— to drive Lee from Fredericksburg.....VIII, 89
— to help Rosecrans..IX, 132
— to meet L. off Aquia Creek VIII, 87
— to re-enforce McClellan at James River.....VII, 239
— to help Rosecrans at Chattanooga.....IX, 141
Bushwhackers,.....X, 134
Bushwhacking, by Democratic party.....V, 357, 360
Busteed, Rich. Gen., recommended to Gen. Dix..... VIII, 149
Butler, note, ...XI, 98
Butler, Benj. F., Maj.-Gen.,

Ames gun, promise to supply.....X, 224
— Blake, ordered to suspend execution of.....IX, 268
— canal, progress on..X, 224
— commanding Fortress Monroe.....VI, 331
—Crouse complains of dismissal by.....X, 235
— Findley, supposed skulking of.....X, 242
— holds runaway slaves as contraband of war..VI, 351
— Lester, confiscation of money.....X, 236
— letter to.....X, 29, 31, 37
— — concerning exchange of prisoners.....X, 71
— — Gen. Phelps' report of fugitive negroes...VII, 258
— — Norfolk matters..X, 320
— naval prisoners, exchange, supervised by.....X, 238
— note to.....X, 20
— orders election in eastern Va.....X, 320
— order to allow Judge Snead to return home.....X, 201
— Point Lookout prisoners, discharge of..... VIII, 167; XI, 129
— proposes to raise troops in New Eng.....VI, 352
— requested to come to Washington....VIII, 154; X, 339
— spoliation of personal effects X, 343

Butler, Benj. F. (*contd.*)
— Stanton, telegram to.X, 259
— telegram to..... VIII, 208; X, 20, 40, 49, 54
— — concerning remains of Col. Dahlgren.....X, 43
— — election in eastern Va... X, 327
— — volunteer commissions.. X, 104
— to aid Bouligny in election VIII, 61
— to go to New Orleans..... VIII, 203
— to inquire into case of Charles Crumblin....X, 73
— Wilmington Expedition report.....X, 338
— wishes to go to Tex..... VIII, 203

Butler, Pierce, causes arrest of Simon Cameron.VII, 147
— vote against slavery..V, 297

Butler, John G., Rev...VII, 60

Butler, Wm., recommendation of.....II, 112
— — for clerk of U. S. Circuit Courts of Ill.....II, 266
— telegram to.....VII, 145
— witness.....I, 63

Buts, ifs, and ands..... VIII, 229, 305

Butterfield, Dan., Maj.-Gen., telegram to...VIII, 262, 271
— — on news from Richmond VIII, 291

Butterfield, Justin, attack on

by Linder.....II, 133
— defeat of L. for Gen. Land Office by.....II, 111
— opposition to appointment to Gen. Land Office....II, 118
Button, —, Gen., captured by Sheridan.....XI, 76

C

"C. E. Hillman," steamer, seizure of.....VI, 258
Cabinet, approves reconstruction plan of 1863....XI, 86
— Cameron in, impossible.... VI, 91
— defection in the....VII, 101
— desire of West for representation in.....II, 100
— desired recall of Cameron's appointment to.....VI, 97
— difficulty of Northern appointments to.....VI, 95
— emancipation, compensated, disapproval by.....XI, 3
— — proclamation, advice of.. VIII, 161
— — — anounced to...XI, xii
— — — division of, on.XI, xii
— — — draft of, submitted to VIII, 155
— Gentry, M. P., for...VI, 94
— Hunt, Randall, for...VI, 94
— Johnson's coming to Washington, discussion of.X, 345
— letters to members on Fort Pillow massacre.....X, 92
— L.'s determination to co-operate with successor.X, 203
— note to, about admission of W. Va.....VIII, 151
— opinions asked on Fort Sumter.....VI, 192
— — on Fort Sumter..VI, 227
— power of dismissal from, reserved to L.....X, 158
— Southern appointments to, L.'s desire for.....VI, 91
— — — rumor of.....VI, 78
Cabiniss, J. M., signer of invitation to Clay,.....I, 232
Caesar, Lincoln contrasted with IX, lii
Caesarism, warning of...I, 47
Cairo, Ill., joint movement from VI, 333
— information desired upon situation at.....VI, 339
Caldwell, Chas. H. B., Lt.-Com., receives thanks of Congress.....VII, 162
Caldwell, Geo. W., letter to.. VI, 260
Calhoun, John C., bill of rights ridiculed by..II, 173
— land resolutions of....I, 140
— Mephistopheles of slavery.. IX, xxiii
— position of, on slavery..... VIII, xiv
— speech of, on tariff...I, 245
— truth of Declaration denied by.....V, 37
— vice-president.....II, 293
California, additional collec-

tion districts.....X, 336
— admission of.....II, 201
— — effect upon Northern representation in Congress. V, 28
— land claim, letter to Gen. Sickles on.....IX, 90
— proposed extension of slavery to.....II, 93
— treasure ships, protection ordered for.....VII, 190
Call for volunteers, legality of .....VI, 308
Cambridge, Mass., degree conferred upon Jackson in.... IV, 82
— Lincoln in.....II, 89
Camden, N. C., blockade.... XI, 80
Cameron, R. A., letter to.... VI, 99
Cameron, Simon, Sec. of War, advocates arming of slaves.....VII, 79
— appoints Lane to raise volunteers in Kan.....VI, 294
— arrest of.....VII, 147
— candidacy for presidential nomination.....V, 258
— commission for S. B. Buckner.....VI, 348
— consultation about assigning Fremont.....VI, 296
— desired to muster in N. Y. German regiments..VI, 272
— — receive Indiana regiments.....VI, 292
Cameron, Simeon (*contd.*)
— — — Mass. regiment..... VI, 291
— — — Mich. regiment..... VI, 291
— — — O. troops....VI, 292
— emancipation proclamation, suppression by L...XI, xii
— letter of, to Gov. of Mo.... VI, 338
— — to ..... VI, 91, 96, 97, 339; VII, 79
— memorandum to.....VII, 6
— note to.....VI, 242
— objects to appointment of Meigs.....VI, 290
— offered Cabinet position.... VI, 90
— — post of minister to Russia.....VII, 80
— opinion on Fort Sumter.... VI, 202
— order to prepare expedition by sea.....VI, 226
— ordered to prosecute army and navy expedition.VI, 356
— recommendations of, for Cabinet position.....VI, 72
— request as to appointment of Lane.....VI, 337
— resignation of.....VII, 79
— resolutions of House of Rep. censuring,.....VII, 193
— telegrams to..... IX, 31; X, 239, 240
— unsuited for difficulties of War Dept.....VII, 79

Camp Beauregard and Columbus, movements of the enemy about.....VII, 75
Camp Chase, O., Bowen prisoner of war at.....X, 256
— Dr. J. J. Williams, prisoner at.....VIII, 10
Camp Morton, Ind.,..IX, 88
Campaign, memorandum for plan of.....VII, 3
— political, L.'s first.....I, 1
— of 1856, L.'s speeches in... VI, 38
Campbell, —, marriage to Ann Todd.....I, 268
Campbell, Antrim,....II, 129
— letter to.....III, 27
Campbell, Jas., letter to..... VIII, 286
Campbell, John Arch., Judge, Va., Confederate peace commissioner.....X, 348, 349
— error as to L.'s offer to.... XI, 92
— Hampton Roads conference XI, 16, 18, 22, 26, 27, 30
— remission of confiscations.. XI, 93
— Seward ordered to meet.... X, 351
— unsigned memo. given to.. XI, 71
— visits L. at Richmond..... XI, 73
See also, Confederate Peace Commission.
Campbell, Julian R., letter to, from John Hay...VIII, 319
Campbell, Lew., witness to III, 349
Campbell, Thos. H.,..IV, 78
Campbell, Thos. M., convicted as spy.....VIII, 280
— sentence respited..VIII, 280
Campbell, Thompson, candidate for Congress..IV, 45
Campbell, "Uncle Tom," complaint of.....I, 270
Campbell, Wm. B., Johnson's proclamation.....X, 248
Camps, annoyed by slaves.... VII, 121
Canada, depredations in..... X, 289
— reciprocity treaty with..... X, 290
— relations with U. S..X, 290
Canadian commerce, communications on.....X, 10
Canal lands; *See* Public Lands.
Canals, in Ill., enlarging..... VIII, 109
— N. Y., enlarging..VIII, 109
— Jefferson's proposed application of Treasury surplus to.....II, 38
— speech on grant of public lands to.....II, 101
— tonnage duties impossible to construct.....II, 42
See also, Rivers.
Canby, E. R. S., Gen., consent desired for Bailey's re-

lief expedition.....X, 227
— Farragut, forwards telegram to.....X, 314
— Hamilton not to be molested by.....X, 186
— Hurlbut, correspondence with.....X, 267
— letters to, relative to cotton X, 172, 312
— Mobile harbor, operations in X, 212
— officer at Mobile Bay, orders to.....X, 260
— wounded.....X, 314
Canedy, P. C., witness..I, 63
Canisius, H. L., letter to, on Mass., naturalization.V, 129
Canisius, Theo., memo. of letter to .....VIII, 68
Canning, Geo., warning words IX, lx
Cannon, J. R., telegram to.. X, 236
Capability of Lincoln, Douglas' idea of.....III, 209
Cape Girardreau, Mo., slavery in.....V, 224
Capen, F. L., indorsement on letter to.....VIII, 257
Capital, relation to labor.... V, 230, 248; VII, 56; X, 51
— rights of.....VII, 57; X, 52
See also, Wealth.
Capitalists, appeals of, for legislation.....I, 23
— proposition of, to workingmen.....V, 230
Capitol, U. S., paintings in.... XI, v
Captives of war, negroes taking refuge within Federal lines.....VIII, 258
Carley, Mark, letter to..... XI, 104
Carlin, Thos., Gov., removal of Sec. of State by..IV, 377
Carlin, W. H., campaign incident.....IV, 376
Carmichael, —, Judge, case of VII, 237
Carney, Thos., Gov. of Kan. Blunt's removal not asked by.....IX, 34
— complains of Gen. Blunt... IX, 87
— explanation to, in regard to commissions.....IX, 38
— letter of indorsement of.... X, 100
Carpenter, Chas., telegrams to Fort Warren, to execute sentence.....X, 81
Carpenter, F. B., account of Emancipation Proclamation, X, 1
— letter to Wadsworth, reported by.....XI, 131
— painting by.....XI, v
Carpenter, Wm., resolutions on Hungarian freedom.... II, 127
Carroll, Dan., vote against slavery.....V, 297
Carter County, Tenn., Lincoln

family in.....II, 182
Carter, Jas. T. P., letter to.. X, 248
Carter, John P., release of.. X, 278
Carter, T. J., appointment of IX, 164
Cass, Lewis, Gen., acceptance of Democratic nomination.. II, 29
— approval of vetoes of public improvements by Polk. II, 68
— debate on Chase's amendment to Neb. bill..... III, 287, 299
— effect of election to Presidency.....II, 67
— encouragement of extension of slavery by.....II, 93
— equivocation of, at Cleveland.....II, 69
— Gov. of Mich. .....II, 80
— nomination of, for president II, 29
— originator of "Nebraskaism" IV, 231
— — "Popular sovereignty".. XI, 106
— position of, on bankrupt law II, 63
— reply to Miller.....II, 77
— record of, on Wilmot proviso.....II, 76
— speeches of, in Ill....IV, 8
— Supt. of Indian Affairs ex-officio.....II, 80
— true hickory stripe of. II, 73
Cass, Lewis (*contd.*)
— working and eating capacities of described by Lincoln II, 80
Caucus for Speaker..VIII, 229
Cavalry Depot, employment desired at.....X, 192
Cedar Creek, Va., battle of.. X, 251
Census reports..VIII, 121, 123
— of 1850, slave population.. II, 220
See also, Population.
Central America, political affairs in.....VIII, 8
— effects of race equality in.. III, 92
— negro colonization in..... VIII, 6
Chaffee, C. C., Dr. owner of Dred Scott.....IV, 159
Challenge to Joint Debates.. III, 189
Chambers, —, rumor brought by .....II, 126
Chambrun, Marquis de, article on Lincoln .....XI, 131
Chancellorville, Lee's army near.....VIII, 315
Chandler, L. H., action in Wright case.....IX, 115
Chandler, Zachariah, letter to IX, 212
Chaplains, to hospitals, appointment of.....VII, 60
Character, the American.... IV, xi

"Character of Lincoln," by Phillips Brooks.....VI, v
Characteristics of Lincoln... IX, xli
Charleston, Ill., fourth Lincoln-Douglas debate at..... IV, 89
— L. at.....I, 180; II, 150
— rejoinder of L. to Douglas at.....IV, 184
— reply of Douglas to L. at.. IV, 142
— residence of L.'s father.... II, 14
Charleston, S. C., blockade... XI, 80
— Du Pont and Hunter to cooperate at.....VIII, 248
— Du Pont at..VIII, 246, 247
— Gen. Gilmore throws shot into.....IX, 106
— naval and military operations.....IX, 267
— sub-treasury proposed at... I, 117
See also, Fort Sumter.
Charleston, Va., Saxton forced from, by Jackson...VII, 199
Chase, —, Maj., writ of habeas corpus suspended in case of VII, 87
Chase, Salmon P., Sec. of the Treasury.....V, 140
— amendment to Nebraska bill, III, 286, 287
— appeal of Evans in behalf of Welch.....IX, 213
Chase, Salmon P. (*contd.*)
— — Hoadley in behalf of Andrews.....IX, 279
— appointment of Streeter and Smith.....VI, 330
— candidacy of, for president V, 138
— canvass for L. by..IV, 176
— character of, Garfield's description.....XI, vi
— collectorship at Hartford, Conn.....VIII, 221, 222
— correspondence with.VII, 71
— description of announcement of Emancipation Proclamation to Cabinet by... XI, xiv
— Douglas' position on amendment of.....III, 299
— draft of letter to...IX, 108
— feeling of L. for..... V, 137; VI, 8
— illness of.....X, 8
— information desired of Barney.....IX, 281
— letter to ..... VI, 21, 90, 224; VII, 306, 307; VIII, 133; IX, 183; X, 6, 18, 25, 29
— — accepting resignation... X, 140
— — on appointment of Augustin Chester....VIII, 283
— — — Dennison....VI, 274
— — — M. B. Field...X, 137
— — B. F. Flanders..... VIII, 273

Chase, Salmon P. (*contd.*)
— — interest on loans..... X, 102
— — introducing Thos. H. Campbell.....VII, 128
— — removal of Atkinson.... X, 126
— — — Victor Smith, collector of customs....VIII, 270
— — Edw. J. Westcott and Gov. Dickinson...VIII, 234
— nominated Chief Justice of Supreme Court.....X, 311
— note to ..... VIII, 148; IX, 295; X, 8, 19, 329
— — on asst. collector at N. Y. .....VIII, 221, 222
— — John E. Bouligny as surveyor at New Orleans.. VII, 278
— — Cuthbert Bullitt..... VIII, 152
— — going to Gettysburg.... IX, 208
— — Hon. Wm. Kellogg.... VIII, 333
— — "Picayune" and "True Delta".....VIII, 73
— — tax commissions for Conn.....VIII, 9
— opinion on arming blacks.. X, 2
— — Fort Sumter..... VI, 201, 228
— — special suspension of habeas corpus.....VIII, 274
Chase, Salmon P. (*contd.*)
— order to, for appointment .. VI, 266
— — appoint Geo. Denison... VI, 273
— permission to appoint David Webb.....VI, 273
— rascal catching.....X, 18
— refusal of, to recognize slavery in amendment to Nebraska bill.....III, 288
— resignation of.....X, 140
— — not accepted..VIII, 148
— rival for nomination of president.....X, 116
— speeches of, in Ill....IV, 8
— Taylor's money scheme.... XI, 122
— telegram to, on Judge Lawrence.....IX, 170
— — telling movements of Banks.....VII, 184
— to issue notes for payment of army and navy..... VIII, 192
— Treasury rules of, approved IX, 298
— Wilmot proviso supported by.....V, 77
Chase, W. M., Sec., letter to.. VI, 268
Chattahoochee River, Sherman at.....X, 166
Chattanooga, Tenn., expedition to, L.'s solicitude for.. VII, 255
— Grant secure at....IX, 253

Chattanooga (*contd.*)
— important to hold..IX, 154
— Rosecrans to hold his position at.....IX, 131
Cheap buying and dear selling a fallacy.....I, 304
Cheatham County, Tenn., election in.....X, 17
Chelsea, Mass., Lincoln in.... II, 89
Cheney, T. A., letter to..... VI, 48
Cherokee Indians, loyalty of VIII, 44, 45
— regiments of, correspondence with Gen. Curtis..... VIII, 56
Cherrystone, Va., blockade.. XI, 80
Chesapeake Bay, orders to move on.....VII, 118
Chesley, —, appointment..... IX, 19
Chester, Augustin, candidate for controller of the Treasury.....VIII, 283
Chew, Henry, order for furniture for.....IV, 199
Chew, R. S., instructions to.. VI, 241
Chicago, Ills., Cass superintendent of Indian agency at. II, 81
— convention 1860, reply of L. to committee of....VI, 12
— — 1864, significance of adjournment.....X, 244
Chicago (*contd.*)
— — Confederate commissioners, supposed plans for X, 171
— Douglas' speech at..IV, 79
— indignation of against Compromise of 1850.....IV, 79
— letter to Conkling at, botched up in eastern papers..... IX, 109
— L.'s advice to settle in..... VI, 6
— — conduct of case at..... II, 339
— — speech at.II, 308; III, 19
— — — perversion of, by Douglas.....IV, 215
— "Long John" attacked..... XI, 103
— municipal election, speech at.....V, 114
— reply to committee from, asking for proclamation of emancipation.....VIII, 28
— speech of Trumbull at .... IV, 91
Chicago "American," letter to .....I, 96
Chicago "Daily Press," argument in.....II, 341
Chicago "Journal," letter to editor of.....II, 131
Chicago "Times,"....IV, 153
— Douglas answers L. in.... III, 193
— — interrogatories of, in... .....III, 272

Chicago "Times" (*contd.*)
— — attack of, on L...XI, 104
— — supported by..VIII, 293
— foundation of....VIII, 293
— Jas. Sheahan, editor of.... VIII, 293
— Mexican War charge against L. in.....IV, 192
— opposition of, to Lecompton Constitution.....IV, 225
— order for suspension of, revoked ..... VIII, 290, 293; X, 108
Chicago "Tribune,"...II, 361
— authorship of Lincoln's epigram.....III, 349
Chickahominy River, advice to McClellan about.VII, 210
— bridges over, constructed by McClellan.....VII, 177
— interview between Gen. Cobb and Col. Key on bank X, 335
Chili, friendly relations with.. X, 285
— seizure of treasure belonging to U. S. citizens.IX, 226
China, consular service in.... X, 287
— position toward U. S..... X, 287
Chitty's "Pleadings," XI, 114
Chivalry, L.'s high.....I, 56
Choate, Jos. H., letter to, declining invitation....X, 319
Chrisman, John, letter to.... VI, 56
Christian Commission, meeting Feb. 22, 1863..VIII, 217
Christianity, duty of, to negro III, 218
Church, indorsement about a, at Memphis.....X, 99
Churches, government's position as to.....VIII, 169
— Government does not control.....X, 4
— — should not control..... X, 42
— memorandum about..X, 30
See also, under the names of the various denominations.
Churchill, Sam. B.....VII, 95
— allegiance of.....VIII, 277
— property assessed at St. Louis.....XI, 48
Cincinnati, O., address at.... VI, 115
— address to Germans..... VI, 119
— convention, platform of... III, 43
— Democratic convention at.. III, 180
— joint movement from VI, 333
— speech at.....V, 190
Cincinnati "Gazette," view of Ky. elections.....IX, 53
Cinnabar mines, discovery of X, 300
Circuit courts; *See,* Courts, circuit.
Circular letter to the gover-

nors.....VII, 256
Circulation, effect of national banks upon.....I, 110
See also, Banks; Greenbacks; Money; Treasury.
Cisco, John L., assistant treasurer at N. Y.....X, 138
Citizens, foreign born, evasion of military duty....IX, 227
— rights of, resolutions relative to.....VIII, 300
City Point, Va., Robt. T. Lincoln at.....XI, 60
— visit to.....XI, 59, 73
Civil Liberty; *See,* Liberty.
Civil service, disbursements for.....X, 292
Civil War, account of, up to May 26, 1862....VII, 189
— anxiety over loss of life... X, 164
— commenced on unequal terms.....VIII, 302
— committee on conduct of... X, 339
— consequences of....IX, 159
— cost of, compared with compensated emancipation..... VII, 113, 119, 132; VIII, 120
— — for one day...VII, 132
— — for one half day..... VII, 119
— — for eighty-seven days... VII, 132
— — bounty, pay, clothing, etc.....X, 133
Civil War (*contd.*)
— — incident to military and naval operations..VIII, 100
— economic stimulus of..... IX, 231
— effects of, on the people... VIII, 94
— emancipation proclamation necessary to success of.... X, 191
— — would shorten..... VIII, 124
— influence of foreign powers on the.....VIII, 195
— liberty involved in...X, 199
— L.'s views of condition of June 28, 1862.....VII, 240
— national existence threatened by.....X, 208
— policy for suppression of... VII, 51
— political ambitions excited by.....VIII, 94
— prediction in regard to.... X, 130
— Schermerhorn, policy of.... X, 222
— slavery the root of..... VIII, 32
— social condition changed by VIII, 94
— statement as to number of troops with McClellan..... VII, 142
— when is war to end..X, 129
Claim, "Macedonian," settlement of, by Chili....X, 285

Claims, Government; *See,* Government claims.
Clarksburg, Md., McClellan at VIII, 25
Classes of labor.....I, 307
Clay, Brutus, elected to Congress.....IX, 62
— guarantees good faith of Ark. planters.....IX, 294
Clay, Cassius M., canvass in Ind.....VI, 44
— capture of.....I, 353
— letters to.....VI, 44, 47
— political situation of..VI, 21
— proposed as minister to Spain.....VI, 190
— re-appointment as minister to Russia.....VII, 309
Clay, Chris. F., loyalty assured IX, 294
Clay, Clement C., Peace Commissioner from Confederate States.....X, 159
Clay Club, invitation of..... I, 232
Clay County, Ill., election returns from.....II, 267
Clay County, Mo., Mrs. Price to remain in.....X, 345
Clay, Henry, birth of..II, 155
— character of.....II, 165
— confirmation of L. on slavery by.....IV, 320
— death of son in Mexican War.....II, 85
— Douglas at death-bed of... III, 104
Clay, Henry (*contd.*)
— Douglas' respect for..... IV, 162
— Emancipation, position on.. III, 255; IV, 289
— failure of, to extinguish slavery.....II, 279
— founding of slavery..... III, 182
— influence of, on Taylor's nomination.....II, 16
— invitation to.....I, 231
— land bill of, indorsed..... I, 248
— leader of Union men..IV, 2
— L. on electoral ticket of.... VI, 34
— L.'s adherence to tariff views of.....VI, 11
— — campaign work for, in Ind. .....I, 291
— — estimate of.....II, 163
— — eulogy of.....II, 155
— — ideal statesman..III, 255
— negro and Declaration of Independence.....III, 256
— nomination for president defeated by L.....V, 76
— old horse turned out to root II, 70
— opposed to slavery..V, 63
— petition to liberate negroes of.....V, 39
— — — reply to.....IV, 382
— re-entrance of, into politics V, 20, 77
— return of.....VII, 80

Clay, Henry (*contd.*)
— return of, to Senate..... IV, 164
— rewards supporter..II, 114
— sentiments for Declaration of Independence....IV, 381
— sketch of life.....II, 160
— slavery in D. C.....III, 277
Clay, John M., gift of snuff-box from.....VII, 307
Clay, T. H., letter to, on sending Gen. Morgan to Ky.... VIII, 55
Claybrook, Edwin C., ordered sent to L.....IX, 274
Clayton, J. M., *See,* Secretary of State.....II, 130
Cleburne, Pat., Maj-Gen., wounded, ...IX, 137
Clemency of Lincoln..... VII, xxvi; IX, xlix, 117
Cleveland, O., address at..... VI, 129
— equivocation of Cass at.... II, 69
— invitation to visit, accepted VI, 109
Clifton, Ill., plea of Douglas at.....IV, 216
Clinton, Ill., speech at..... III, 349
Clymer, Geo., vote against slavery.....V, 297
Coal land best thing to commence an enterprise.VIII, 7
Coalter, John D., interested in McPheeters case....IX, 269
Codding, Ichabod, calls Republican State Convention.. III, 259, 260
— letter to.....II, 264
— negro equality.....V, 3
Cody, H. H.,.....IV, 50
Coercion, meaning of..VI, 113
Coleman, —, Dr., letter of Andrew Jackson to.....I, 245
Coles County, Ill., death of Thos. Lincoln in.....II, 181
— home of Sally Bush Johnston.....VI, 27
— Johnston advised to work in II, 145
— indictment of men of..... X, 168
— reports of riot at....X, 168
— riot cases.....X, 141
Colfax, Schuyler, speaker of House of Rep., letter to... V, 131; VI, 187
— Lincoln's opinion of..... VI, 187
— support of Douglas for re-election.....VI, 187
Collamer, Jacob, amendment to bill to admit Wis...II, 18
— letter to.....XI, 119
College of N. J. confers degree X, 326
Collingsworth, Jas., Sec. of State, Republic of Tex., signer of treaty with Santa Anna.....I, 347
Collins, Wm., sentence suspended.....X, 72, 73

Colonies, how made States.... VI, 314
— slaveholding ..... III, 147; IV, 24
Colonization, address on, to deputation of negroes..... VIII, 1
— discussed in message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862.... VIII, 97
— for South America..... VII, 272
— in Central America..... VIII, 6
— in Hayti.....VIII, 97
— in Liberia.....VIII, 5
— of negroes..... II, 337; VII, 50; VIII, 1, 97; X, 36
— — appropriation proposed for.....VIII, 117
— — difficulties of..... II, 206; VIII, 98
Colonization Society, Clay supports.....IV, 289
Colorado, enabling act signed X, 54
— legislature, resolutions of.. VII, 48
— mineral resources of..... IX, 231
— organized.....VII, 48
Colored race; *see* Negro.
Colt, —, Judge, asks release of step-son.....IX, 88
Columbia, District of; *see* District of Columbia.
Columbia (*contd.*)
— United States of; *see,* United States of Columbia.
Columbus Machine Mfg. Co., suit against Barret..V, 134
Columbus, O., feigned attack on, suggested.....VII, 71
— invitation to visit accepted VI, 107
— letter to Buell regarding attack on.....VII, 83
— L.'s speech at.....V, 140
— movements of the enemy about.....VII, 75
Commanders, orders to..... X, 323
Commentaries on American law by Kent.....II, 39
Commerce, annual report suggested .....VII, 47
— depredations upon..IX, 245
— power of Congress to regulate.....II, 40
— proclamation, concerning Jan. 10, 1865.....X, 336
— with foreign countries..... VII, 61
Commercial intercourse, license of.....VIII, 238
— order relating to...VII, 109
— proclamation forbidding with insurgent States ..... VIII, 118, 242
— marine, protection for ..... VII, 190
— regulations, order concerning .....IX, 110

Commercial (*contd.*)
— proclamation order concerning.....X, 197
Commercial treaty, between U. S. and Turkey.VIII, 98
Commissioner of Agriculture, remuneration of.....IX, 54
See also, Agriculture; Department of Agriculture.
Committee of Colored People, reply to.....X, 217
Committee on conduct of War, Butler summoned by..X, 339
Committee of notification, L.'s reply to .....X, 116
Committee, reply to...X, 346
See also, House of Representatives; Whig Party; *and under names of appointing bodies.*
Compensated Emancipation, appeal to Border Slave States .....VII, 270
— attention of Congress called to.....VIII, 110
— benefits of...VIII, 120, 124
— burden of, shared by increased population ..... VIII, 121
— Cabinet disapproves..XI, 3
— compared to cost of war... VII, 113, 119, 132; VIII, 123
— constitutionality of..... VII, 125
— denunciation of, by Thaddeus Stevens.....VII, 112
Compens'd Emcip'n (*contd.*)
— draft of message proposing XI, 1
— L.'s scheme for..... VII, 122–127, 133
— message to Congress recommending.....VII, 112
— — — misunderstood ..... VII, 121
— N. Y. "Tribune" favors... VII, 123
— ready money not required for.....VIII, 121
— resolution and articles preparatory to.....VIII, 117
See also, Emancipation; Gradual Emancipation.
Compromise, impossible for maintenance of the Union.. IX, 96, 97
— of 1820.....XI, 109
— of 1850, confirmation of, by political parties..... IV, 36, 187
— — description and effects of II, 203
— — history of.....IV, 164
— — slavery cause of..... IV, 187
— on slavery extension, object of.....VI, 103
See also, Missouri Compromise.
Conduct of War, Committee on, Butler summoned by.. X, 339
Confederate Peace Commis-

sioners, Grant ordered to entertain .....X, 350
— L. meets at Fortress Monroe.....X, 355
— report of meeting with, demand by Congress...XI, 6
— — — sent to Congress.... XI, 10
— terms of peace indicated to X, 351
— Thirteenth amendment announced to.....XI, 31
See also, Campbell, J. A.; Hunter, R. M. T.; Stephens, A. H.
Confederate scrip, question of changing for cotton..... VIII, 83
Confederate States of Amer., allegiance of Va. with.... VI, 306
— announce purpose to privateer.....VI, 308
— declarations of independence qualified.....VI, 321
— foreign intervention asked VI, 299; VII, 28, 29, 61
— hopes of union with Border States.....VII, 122, 123
— intercourse with Eng..... VI, 279
— provisional government of VI, 85
— recognition of, not to be defined.....VI, 281
— — refused by L.....IX, 16
— what constitutes...VI, 282
Confederate States (*contd.*)
— recruiting, methods of..... IX, 60
— representatives in London.. VI, 278
— seizures of U. S. property.. VI, 297
— status of.....VI, 282
Confiscation of property, act in regard to.....VIII, 39
— Attorney-General to have superintendence of..... VIII, 74
— order concerning..VIII, 74
— courts alone competent to pass on.....IX, 287
— military rule for....IX, 288
— remission of, in Va..... XI, 72, 74, 93
— used for insurrectionary purposes.....VII, 49, 280
Congress of the U. S., acts of, criticized by L..VII, 40
— administration of justice in insurgent States referred to VII, 42
— amendment to Constitution for abolishment of slavery VIII, 116; X, 303
— appropriation for liberation of slaves in D. C..VII, 112
— — in aid of colonization.. VIII, 1, 117
— — of public moneys by.... II, 39
— Ark. Senators refused seats in.....X, 139

Congress of U. S. (*contd.*)
— Arnold, Isaac N., nominated X, 141
— article of war, act of, to make additional...VIII, 38
— assembling of, prevented by Confederate machinations.. VI, 310
— authority of people over... V, 232
— clerk of House of Rep., act of, to regulate duties of.. IX, 190
— colonization of contrabands in suitable climate suggested to.....VII, 49
— confiscation of property.... VII, 49, 52
— constitutional duties of..... IX, 75
— — rights to be supported by IV, 61
— Court of Claims, removal of, to relieve .....VII, 43
— Crittenden-Montgomery bill in.....V, 118
— Currency, power of, to regulate.....VIII, 193
— Cushing, Lieut. Wm. B., receives thanks of....X, 280
— D. C., act to release slaves in.....II, 97; VII, 146
— — — recommended to, for favorable consideration.... VII, 48
— electoral votes, power to exclude.....XI, 9

Congress of U. S. (*contd.*)
— — report of result of, to L. XI, 10
— emancipation, first step toward.....IX, xxiv
— — proclamation, division upon.....XI, xii
— executive control of, L.'s ideas upon..V, 19; VI, 129
— extra session called..... VI, 246
— foreign affairs, correspondence on.....VIII, 93
— Freedman's Aid Societies, plan of, referred to..... IX, 263
— fugitive slave clause, need of provisions to enforce... XI, 116
— "Glen," appropriation for illegal capture of....IX, 281
— Goldsborough, Capt. L. M., receives thanks of..... VII, 105
— government of new territory by.....II, 77
— Grant, Gen., presented with medal and resolutions from XI, 48
— hospital chaplains compensated by.....VII, 60
— Indian system remodeled by X, 300
— internal revenue act, correction of errors in..X, 330
— Kansas, agitation about.... III, 353

Congress of U. S. (*contd.*)
— Kelley, Judge, Philadelphia, renomination of.....X, 132
— Library of, correspondence about publications..... VIII, 146
— L. asks, to make war short and decisive.....VI, 311
— — elected to.....I, 298
— — followed preference of, in appointments..... VIII, xlvi
— — member of ..... II, 270; III, 210; VIII, xx
— — not a candidate for re-election to.....VI, 37
— La. representatives, election of.....VIII, 79, 80
— members of, duty of to be informed.....VI, 129
— message to..... VI, 297; VII, 189; VIII, 167; X, 18, 40, 62, 84, 86, 116, 280, 281, 332
— — giving account of war up to May 26, 1862..... VII, 189
— — African slave-trade, suppression of.....VII, 215
— — agricultural exhibition at Hamburg.....VIII, 184
— — amendment to, April 16, 1862.....VII, 147
— — annual, Dec. 3, 1861.... VII, 28
— — — Dec. 1, 1862..... VIII, 93
Congress of U. S. (*contd.*)
— — — Dec. 8, 1863.IX, 224
— — — Dec. 6, 1864..X, 283
— — Army and Navy, payment of.....VIII, 192
— — Blackburn, Eng., distressed operatives in..... VIII, 219
— — British charge d' affairs, note of.....XI, 9
— — compensated emancipation....VII, 112, 276; XI, 1
— — — misunderstanding of.. VII, 121
— — consular pupils..... VIII, 153
— — cotton cultivation in Africa.....VII, 110
— — Dahlgren, Com. J. A., recommended for thanks... VII, 267
— — Davis, Capt. Chas. H., recommended for thanks... VII, 267
— — Du Pont, Capt. Samuel F.....VII, 136
— — Ecuador claims....X, 40
— — electoral vote.....XI, 8
— — Farragut, Capt. David G. VII, 160
— — fisheries correspondence VI, 330
— — Foote, Capt. Andrew H., recommended for thanks... VII, 253
— — fortification of sea-coast and lakes.....VII, 66

Congress of U. S. (*contd.*)
— — Hanover, treaty with... VII, 100
— — industrial exhibition in London ..... VI, 329; VII, 66, 72
— — insurrection, suppression of, and punishment of treason.....VII, 280
— — "Jargen Lorentzen"..... VII, 134
— — "Jules et Marie" and "San Jacinto," indemnity for.....VIII, 132
— — July 17, 1862, criticism of.....VII, 280
— — Lardner, Capt. John L., recommended for thanks... VII, 267
— — Morris, Com. Geo. U., recommended for thanks... VIII, 138
— — naval officers....VII, 97
— — — list of, engaged in operations under Farragut.. VII, 161
— — navy, further efficiency of.....VII, 104
— — N. M., Legislative Assembly of.....VIII, 221
— — Nev., Territory of..... VII, 138
— — Oporto, exhibition at... XI, 34
— — Peru, claims of citizens of.....IX, 272
— — Porter, Com. D. D., recommended for thanks..... VII, 268; VIII, 208
— — "Providencia"...VII, 88
— — railroads concentrating on Washington, construction of.....VIII, 198
— — Sec. of State, correspondence of, with Benj. E. Brewster.....VII, 147
— — Siam, correspondence with King of.....VII, 108
— — "Trent" affair..... VII, 75, 86, 107
— — — letter to King of Italy ..... VII, 111
— — — removal of U. S. citizens from.....VII, 67, 92
— — Turkey, consular courts of.....VIII, 203
— — Worden, Com. John L., recommended for thanks... VIII, 136
— — Wright, Jos. A., report of.....IX, 291
— Mexican party in....V, 75
— Mexico, declaration of war against.....II, 51
— Miss. River and Atlantic, memorialized to connect... IX, 244
— need of all opinions in..... II, 91
— Northwest Territory, accepted by.....II, 194
— Ordinance of '87, act to enforce.....V, 297
— organization of militia rec-

ommended to.....VII, 36
— pirates in eastern seas..... VII, 33
— plan to run Douglas Republicans in Ill. for..... III, 199
— public domain, right of.... II, 104
— railroad and canal land grants to States....II, 101
— reconstruction plan, 1863, commendations from..... XI, 86
— representation of slave States in....II, 233; XI, 31
— representative of people.... II, 64
— Rogers, Capt., John, recommendation of .....IX, 253
— Rowan, Com. S. C., receives thanks of.....VII, 267
— Scheldt dues, recommendation of appropriation for... X, 332
— "Signing of the Proclamation of Emancipation," Garfield's speech on presentation of.....XI, v
— slave State majority in..... II, 234
— slave trade, power of, to abolish.....III, 187
— slavery, purpose of Democratic party and, to nationalize.....V, 146
— slavery, early views of..... II, 245

Congress of U. S. (*contd.*)
— State Constitutions, power of, to regulate....IV, 230
— Stringham, Capt. S. H., receives thanks of...VII, 268
— taxation, authority over... II, 40
— Thirteenth amendment..... X, 352; XI, 31
— — — ratified by La. Legislature.....XI, 89
— U. S. Bank, passage of bill to charter.....II, 60
— — — Courts, effect of act relative to cases in..II, 149
— — — Notes, issue of..... VIII, 193
— unprepared to meet condition of country in 1862.... VII, 101
— war-making power of..... II, 2; VI, 36
— Winslow, Capt. John A., receives thanks of....X, 280
See also, Committee on Conduct of the War; House of Representatives; Senate.
— Congress of Paris, 1856, participation of U. S. in..... VI, 283
"Congressional Globe" .... I, 354; III, 289; IV, 28, 107, 155, 156
— Douglas' reply to Trumbull in.....IV, 58
— L.'s record in as shown in.. VI, 35

"Congress'l Globe" (*contd.*)
— — speech in.....II, 58
— request for.....II, 288
— sending of, to Whig papers II, 50, 51
Conkling, F. A., Hon., asks appointment for Marshal B. Blake.....VIII, 17
— letter declining to be present at mass meeting in N. Y.....X, 112
Conkling, Jas. C., appointment of, to Whig State Central Committee.....I, 242
— letter to.....IX, 95
— — containing speech to be read at Springfield meeting IX, 102
— telegram to.....IX, 89, 109
Conkling, Roscoe, employment of negro troops..... X, 195, 197
— nomination for Congress... X, 193
Conley, Edw., respite for.... X, 218
Connecticut, abolition of slavery in.....V, 8
— Butler's proposal to raise troops in.....VI, 352
— formation of districts of R. I. and.....VII, 306
— loyalty and patriotism of.. VIII, 185
— tax commissioners for..... VIII, 9
Conscription; *see,* Draft.
Conspiracy to nationalize slavery.....III, 188; IV, 386
— — — Douglas,' part of, in.. III, 187
— — — — denies....IV, 339
— to perpetuate slavery..... IV, 214
"Constellation," frigate, services to British brig....XI, 9
Constitution of U. S., African slave-trade, abolition of.... V, 183, 208
— — — prohibited in...V, 48
— Amendment of...II, 44, 45
— — for abolition of slavery VIII, 116
— — guaranteeing perpetuity of slavery.....VI, 182
— — Lincoln's opinion on.... II, 44
— — public improvements by II, 38
— — resolution of Congress on.....X, 354
— Articles of Confederation superseded by.....II, 193
— commander-in-chief, powers of, in war time.....IX, 98
— Congress, power of, to do things expressly ordered by IX, 75
— Democratic party, view of, as to internal improvements under.....II, 29
— deserters, power of, to punish.....VIII, 308
— Douglas' opinion of position

of negro under.....IV, 181
— Federal Union, perpetuity of, under.....VI, 173
— foundations of.....III, 73
— framers of, would have improved.....IX, 78
— fugitive slave clause, enforcement of .....XI, 116
— — reclamation provision.... V, 49
— habeas corpus, provision of VIII, 304
— — suspension of, an executive power.....IX, 2
— inviolability of.....III, 73
— loyalty of North to..II, 282
— military arrests...VIII, 299
— — rights of.....VIII, 306
— pardon, executive authorized to grant or withhold..... IX, 248
— perversion of, to be corrected.....V, 232
— power of the.....IX, 76, 77
— preservation of, the first thought.....X, 66
— Pres., limitations of..... XI, 31
— public improvements..... II, 38, 39
— rebellion, L.'s opinion on... IX, 2
— revenue for.....I, 50
— secession, law regarding.... VIII, 301
— servant of the people..... IX, 97

Constitution U. S. (*contd.*)
— slave States, representation of.....II, 235
— slavery, covert language of, on.....V, 48
— — contemporary with..... III, 187
— — guaranteed by...III, 129
— — not mentioned in..... V, 49, 335, 357
— — prohibition of, in new Territories.....V, 209
— — provided for in....V, 5
— slaves not mentioned in.... V, 322
— — recognition of, as property.....IV, 57
— — right to hold, under.... II, 207, 282
— States, sovereignty of, not mentioned in.....VI, 315
— — created by.....VI, 314
— — powers of, reserved by.. VI, 316
— — Story on the.....II, 40
— support of.....I, 43
— supreme law of land.IV, 210
— teaching of, L.'s devotion to VI, 156
— Texas acknowledges, as supreme.....VI, 315
— treason, definition of..... VIII, 299
See also, Thirteenth amendment.

Constitution, State; *see,* State Constitution.

Constitutional power in the acquisition of territory..... VII, 50
— — difference of, in times of peace and war....VIII, 309
— — used by L. to quiet insurrection of States..... VII, 102
Consular court; *see,* Courts, Consular.
— pupils.....VIII, 153
— system, self-sustaining..... IX, 230
Consuls, foreign, exemption of IX, 232
— — taxation of.....IX, 232
Contraband, and leasing business.....X, 24
— capture of British vessels having, on board..... VIII, 204
— correspondence with Mexico on.....VIII, 198
— intelligence and trade, restraint of.....IX, 158
— trade, order concerning.... XI, 127
Contrabands, ... VII, 105; VIII, 258
— colonization of, suggested to Congress.....VII, 49
— give information to King.. VII, 199
— order authorizing employment of.....VII, 287
See also, Colonization; Negroes; Slaves.
Convention, for adjustment of claims by joint commission. IX, 232
See also, Democratic Party; Illinois; Republican Party, Whig Party;
Converse, Geo. L., letter to.. IX, 1
Cook, —, ...II, 275
Cook, B. C., head of Ill. delegation to Baltimore..X, 114
— letter to.....III, 198
Cook, Isaac,.....IV, 50
Coolie-trade, Asiatic..VII, 67
Cooper, Henry, letter to.... X, 248
Cooper Institute, character of audience at.....V, 293
— L.'s speech changed to.... VI, 9
— speech at, nomination of L. made possible by....XI, x
Cooper, Sam., Gen., telegram from Bragg to.....IX, 135
Cooper Shop.....X, 128
Copperhead,.....VIII, 278
Corinth, Miss., army fighting McClellan.....VII, 260
— force from, to go to Chattanooga.....IX, 133
— occupied by Northern forces VIII, 204
— rumored raid from, into Western Ky.....X, 252
Corkran, —, refusal of L.'s request for Evans' appointment VI, 266

Corkran, F. S., Hon., telegram to.....IX, 146
Corning, Erastus, letter to.. VIII, 288, 314
— telegram to, on resolutions of Albany meeting..... VIII, 284
Corruption, in Post Office Dep. I, 134
— in purchase of supplies.... IX, 10
Corse, —, Gen., captured by Sheridan.....XI, 76
Corwine, R. M., telegram about Smith case.....X, 63
Corwin, Thos......V, 140
— followed in debate by L.... V, 74
— proposed as minister to Mexico.....VI, 190
— speech on Mexican War... V, 75
Coryden, Ind., residence of L.'s cousins.....II, 14
Costa Rica, relations with... X, 285
Cothran, —, Capt., case of... VII, 211
Cottman, Thos., Dr., letter to VIII, 326
— on committee of La. State planters.....VIII, 326
— reconstruction of La., participates in.....IX, 256
Cotton, bringing out, persons engaged in, not to be hindered.....X, 207
Cotton (*contd.*)
— capture of, at Savannah... X, 325
— changing Confederate scrip for.....VIII, 83
— culture of, in Africa..... VII, 110
— effect of blockade on..... X, 312, 313
— Hamilton's shipment of, to Treas. Dept.....X, 186
— price of, greater because of blockade.....X, 312
— seizure of, instructions in regard to.....X, 172
— Sherman's advice asked.... X, 188
— Wright and Hawkes' plan to secure.....IX, 280
Cotton-gin, effect upon slavery III, 175; IV, 33
Couch, D. N., Gen., dilatory at Gettysburg.....IX, 28
— telegram to..... VIII, 332, 334; IX, 15
Court of Claims, U. S., Bingham appointed solicitor.... X, 178
— removal of Congressional control of.....VII, 43
Court of Justice, Federal, defection in.....VII, 101
— inefficient in times of rebellion.....VIII, 303, 304
— Lincoln's first case in..... II, 140
— provisional, in La., order to

establish.....VIII, 64
— — Peabody, Chas. A., Judge of.....VIII, 65
— subject to supreme authority of people.....V, 232
Court, U. S., Circuit, message to House of Rep. about.... VII, 217
— — recommended....VII, 38
— — resolution on death of Judge Nathanial Pope..... II, 135
Court, U. S. Supreme, authority of.....II, 294
— — Chase, Salmon P., nominated Chief Justice..... X, 311
— — decisions of, not sacred XI, 111
— — degradation of a danger III, 136
— — Douglas' charge of L.'s imputation upon....III, 302
— — Dred Scott decision.... II, 315
— — governmental incursions of.....VI, 180
— — Jackson's opposition to.. III, 180
— — Jefferson on powers of.. III, 179
— — judicial functions relegated to.....VII, 39
— — L.'s attitude toward.... III, 41
— — on Fifth Amendment... V, 305
Court, U. S. Sup'm (*contd.*)
— — negro suffrage, decision upon right of States to confer.....IV, 26
— — questions of law to be referred to.....VII, 43
— — slavery in Territories, decision on..IV, 57, 64, 208
Courts, consular, in eastern countries.....VII, 33
— — U. S., in Turkey..... VIII, 203
— military, collection of debts by.....VII, 41
Covington, Ky., telegram to officer in command..IX, 279
Cowles, Edwin, recommended for postmaster of Cleveland VI, 190
Craig, Mr. and Mrs., permit to occupy plantation..IX, 268
Craven, Thos. T., recommended for thanks of Congress.....VII, 161
Cravens, John R., appointment a question....VII, 242
Crawford, —, Gen., telegram to .....IX, 106
Crawford, Andrew, school of VI, 27
Creed, political, Douglas on.. IV, 11
— — must be uniform in all sections.....V, 4
Creswell, John A. J., letter to X, 30, 43
Crisfield, John W., letter to,

concerning Judge Carmichael .....VII, 237
— L. receives letter from.... IX, 206
— memo. of interview between L. and border slave State representatives....VII, 120
Crittenden, John J.,..III, 119
— at conference at White House.....VII, 127
— bill on admission of Kan. V, 118
— death of.....IX, 62
— Douglas supporter...V, 217
— Douglas' tribute to..III, 61
— letter to.....III, 17; V, 90
— name of, contributes to L.'s defeat.....V, 91
— slavery agitation denied by V, 45
Crittenden-Montgomery bill V, 278
Crook, Geo., Gen., movements of.....XI, 60
Crosby and Nichols, letter to.. IX, 284
Crosby, Pierce, Lt.-Com., receives thanks of Congress.. VII, 162
Crowell, —, execution suspended.....IX, 278
Crozier, —, Col., acquaintance of Lincoln with.....II, 181
Crumblin, —, [Crumpton] sentenced.....X, 73
Crume, Ralph, husband of Mary Lincoln.....VI, 25
Cuba, annexation of, possible pro-slavery demand..VI, 93
— free labor in.....VIII, xiv
— maritime jurisdiction of Spain.....IX, 225
— position of Douglas upon acquisition of.....IV, 28
— "San Jacinto" and "Jules Marie," indemnity to..... VIII, 132
Culpepper Court House..... VIII, 58
Cumberland, Army of the, on march to the sea....X, 325
"Cumberland," engagement with "Merrimac,".VIII, 138
Cumberland Gap, Burnside at IX, 118
— Gen. Morgan's force leaves VIII, 55
Cunningham, J. O., letter to III, 270
Currency, duty of government in regard to..... I, 110; VIII, 101
— effects of contracting..... I, 106
— furnished by banking assocn. VIII, 193
— influence of banks on..... VII, 231
— position of Taylor on..... II, 63
— power of Congress to regulate.....VIII, 193
See also, Bank Notes; Banks; Circulation; Green-

backs; Finance; Money; National Banks; Revenue; Specie; Taxation; Treasury Notes.
Curtin, Andrew G., Gov. of Pa., asks for 80,000 troops VIII, 25
— asks L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 249
— fears raid in Pa....X, 242
— letter to.....IX, 254
— — of thanks for a cane.... X, 171
— — offering foreign mission VIII, 246
— — sanctioning call of Pa. militia.....VIII, 23
— reply to.....VI, 160
— Stover not to be mustered X, 240
— suggestion for exemption from draft.....X, 258
— telegrams to..... VIII, 35; X, 240, 277
— — about order 154..... VIII, 70
— — at Harrisburg..VIII, 25
— — for regiments to be sent to Washington....VII, 310
— — regarding safety of Pa. VIII, 257
— — as to situation at Hagerstown.....VIII, 24
Curtis, Benj. R., Judge, decision .....II, 320
— Kirkland's letter to..IX, 217
Curtis, S. R., Gen., Churches not to be interfered with.. IX, 270
— cotton transactions, supposed.....IX, 265
— department created for..... IX, 275
— departmental command proposed for.....IX, 265
— head of faction of Union men in Mo.....VIII, 283
— letter to, assessing and collecting from Southern sympathizer.....VIII, 138
— — charges against Dr. McPheeters.....VIII, 168
— — Cherokees occupying Cherokee country..VIII, 56
— — civil authority into Mo. VIII, 146
— — completing railroad at Springfield.....VIII, 57
— — Fremont, Gen. John C. VII, 9, 10
— — Mo. matters...VIII, 171
— — removal from Dept. of Mo.....VIII, 294
— — slave troubles in Mo.... VIII, 184
— — Watkins, N. W..... VIII, 145
— New Mexico, ordered to prevent outbreak in....IX, 297
— order of provost-marshal disapproved.....VIII, 187
— Price engaged with, at Fayetteville.....X, 259
— removal of.....VIII, 271

Curtis, S. R. (*contd.*)
— superseded by Schofield.... VIII, 282; IX, 158
— telegram to.....VII, 308
— — force wanted by Frank Fithian.....VIII, 144
— — concerning Dr. Wm. Blair.....VIII, 92
Curtis, W. E., opinion on L.'s protest against slavery.... I, 52
Cushing, Wm. B., Lieut., to receive thanks of Congress X, 281
Custom-houses, Confederate seizures of.....VI, 297
Cuthbert, —, Mrs.....IX, 134
Cynthiana, Ky., action at.... X, 125

D

"Dacotah," movements..... VII, 129
Dahlgren, John A., Adm..... VIII, 68; X, 29
— gunpowder tests referred to IX, 54
— thanks of Congress to.... VII, 267
Dahlgren, Ulric, Capt., brings dispatch to Gen. Hooker.. VIII, 320
— killed at King and Queen Court House.....X, 31
"Daily Register," article on challenged voters in.II, 177
Dakota Territory.....VII, 48
Dallas, Geo. M., minister to Eng., dispatch from.VI, 277
— loyalty and fidelity..VI, 279
— intercourse between Eng. and Confederacy...VI, 279
— supposed speech of..VI, 53
Dana, N. J. T., Maj.-Gen., letter of instructions to.X, 331
— passage of lines for certain persons.....XI, 37
Dana, Richard A., reports views of Grant on Emancipation Proclamation..IX, 65
Danforth, J. B., Jr., charges against T. J. Pickett..... VIII, 252; X, 80
Davidson, J. W., Gen., Cairo X, 24
Davis, —, Gen., nomination of VIII, 232
Davis, —, U. S. Rep., from Ind., Republican support of V, 117
Davis, Chas. Henry, Capt., thanks of Congress VII, 267
Davis, David, Judge, criticism of first inaugural....VI, 169
— opinion of L.'s legal abilities.....II, 140
Davis, Eliza, L.'s remembrance of..... I, 180, 211
Davis, G. T. M., thanks of L. to.....II, 130
Davis, Henry Winter, letter to.....VIII, 229
Davis, Jefferson, Blair's mission to.....XI, 11

Davis, Jefferson (*contd.*)
— — visit to.....X, 342, 347
— effort to nationalize slavery V, 333, 353
— Federal government, characterization of.....IX, xvii
— Hampton Roads conference XI, 25, 29
— Hood, visit to.....X, 235
— L.'s magnanimity to..... IX, xlviii
— — peace proposition.X, 154
— peace, states to Blair willingness to negotiate for.... X, 11
— speech at Bangor, Me..... VI, 24
— Stephens not the bearer of terms of peace.....X, 185
Davis, John W., indorsement on letter of.....VI, 355
Davis, Levi, information about Edwards by.....II, 125
Davis, T. T., telegram to.... X, 257
Davis, Walter, mistake of, about Post Office....II, 122
— opposition to.....II, 116
— recommendation for Land Office at Springfield..... II, 115
Davis, Winter, Cabinet possibilty.....VI, 94
Dawson, —, sentenced..X, 85
Day, —.....II, 272
Dayton, O., invitation to visit declined.....VI, 108
Dayton, Jonathan, Constitutional Father.....V, 300
Dayton, Wm. L.,.....II, 289
— proposed as minister to Eng. VI, 189
— — — France.....VI, 223
De Bare, —, Gen., captured by Sheridan.....XI, 76
Debates with Douglas, challenge to.....III, 189
— Fifth, at Galesburg..IV, 237
— First, at Ottawa...III, 200
— Fourth, at Charleston..... IV, 89
— preliminary correspondence to.....III, 193
— Second, at Freeport..... III, 271
— Seventh, at Alton.....V, 1
— Sixth, at Quincy...IV, 311
— Third, at Jonesboro..IV, 1
De Camp, John, Com., thanks of Congress.....VII, 162
Declaration of Independence adherence to.....III, 185
— amendment of.....III, 185
— called a lie...II, 247; V, 37
— Clay's sentiments on..... IV, 381
— colonies named states by.. VI, 314
— criticism of.....II, 205
— denied by Calhoun....V, 37
— Douglas' construction of... III, 185
— effect upon L.'s character.. X, ix

Decl'n Indepen'ce (*contd.*)
— equality under.....III, 186
— first general order issued after .....VIII, 77
— negro equality and....V, 3
— — — denounced by Douglas.....IV, 254
— — included in.....V, 87
— — no share in..... IV, 23; V, 187, 201, 270; VI, 26
— Pettit declares self-evident lie.....V, 37
— political feelings spring from.....VI, 157
— privileges of, for whites only III, 147
— ridiculed by Calhoun..... II, 173
— signers of, representing slave-holders.....IV, 24
— teaching of, L.'s devotion to VI, 156, 158
— Washington's lack of adhesion to.....IX, xi
Decoy Ducks, Lincoln and Trumbull likened to.III, 317
Deep Snow, winter of, in Ill.. VI, 29
Defalcations, of public officers I, 113
Defeat, political, L.'s only popular.I, 1; V, 288; VI, 31
Deist, Lincoln, suspected of being .....I, 263
De Kalb County, Ill..... IV, 51, 52
De Kalb County (*contd.*)
— "Sentinel," .....IV, 52
Delafield, Richd., Brig.-Gen., ordered to make draft.XI, 4
Delahay, M. W., letter to.... V, 128
Delaware, negroes, number of, in.....VI, 127
— regularly organized regiment of.....VI, 305
— slavery, proposed bill for compensated abolishment... VII, 21
— slaves in, census of 1860.. VII, 132
— Thirteenth amendment rejected.....X, 352
— value of slaves in..VII, xvii
Democracy, maintenance of.. VI, 304
"Democrat," editor of, postmaster at St. Louis..... VIII, 250
Democratic Party.....II, 304
— abolitionizing of..... III, 211, 314; IV, 5, 6, 77, 167, 171
— — denied by L.....IV, 189
— Black Republican President, won't stand.....XI, 115
— Blair's denunciation of treason.....VI, 214
— combination against..IV, 14
— Bush-whacking tactics of.. V, 335
— compact to carry Ill. against IV, 14

Democratic Party (*contd.*)
— conduct of Douglas' campaign.....III, 190
— Congressional convention at Joliet, 1855.....IV, 47
— Convention of, at Baltimore II, 29; IV, 3, 166
— creed of, a compulsion.... II, 66
— declaration in Cincinnati platform.....III, 180
— defeat in O.....V, 335
— — Pa.....V, 335
— defections from.....IV, 5
— degeneration of.....V, 125
— desire of, to aid Taylor's army.....II, 52
— District convention at Naperville, 1850.....IV, 50
— division of, in N. Y..II, 88
— Douglas Republicans in.... III, 199
— effort to tranquilize country III, 353
— endorsement of Compromise of 1850.....II, 203; IV, 37
— intolerant of anti-slavery views.....V, 64
— Lincoln condemns doctrine of.....VIII, xxiii
— — on resourcefulness of... VI, 43
— — assurance of fraternal feeling for.....VI, 118
— Mo. Compromise...III, 202
— national character of..... IV, 247

Democratic Party (*contd.*)
— need of union in.....V, 20
— negro soldiers, disbandment of, demanded by....X, 190
— platform of, on internal improvements.....II, 30
— political necessities of..... IV, 263
— — principles of..... III, 201; IV, 1, 83, 161, 331
— prospects of, in 1860..... VI, 43
— Republican Party, difference XI, 107
— revolt of, against Supreme Court decision.....III, 180
— slavery question in..... II, 285; V, 61, 65..XI, 107
— Vt. State convention of.... IV, 53
"Democratic Review," Douglas' organ.....V, 101
Democrats, rather than American Citizens.....VIII, 310
Denmark, liquidation of Scheldt dues to.....IX, 226
Dennison, Geo., commission for.....VI, 273
— L.'s exculpation of..VI, 275
Dennison, Wm., appointed Postmaster Gen.....X, 234
— collector of customs, New Orleans.....IX, 283
— letter to.....VI, 107
— — accepting re-nomination for president.....X, 136
— telegrams to.....X, 71, 235

Department of Agriculture, report of.....X, 302
— organization of recommended.....VIII, 109
Department of the Interior, expenses under, 1862..... VIII, 103
— suppression of African slave-trade.....VII, 47
— order for construction of Union Pacific R. R..X, 33
— report of secretary of..... VII, 44
Department of the Mississippi, created.....VII, 130
Department of the Missouri, Butler desired instead of Schofield.....IX, 155
— complaints in, of dishonest assessment for Southern outrages.....VIII, 171, 172
— contraband intelligence and trade.....IX, 158
— Curtis relieved of command of.....VIII, 282
— Dick, F. A., superseded by Jas. O. Brodhead..IX, 158
— dissatisfied with Schofield.. IX, 155
— distressed condition of people in.....VIII, 197
— — — the consequence of war.....IX, 157
— enrolled militia of..... IX, 155, 158
— — — refuses destruction of, for national force...IX, 163
Dept. of Missouri (*contd.*)
— Frémont system of restraint IX, 158
— Halleck system of restraint IX, 159
— letter to Chas. Drake on situation in.....IX, 155
— L. pressed to give Gen Schofield command of..VII, 153
— Pope, command of, objections to.....IX, 267
— Prov.-Marshal Gen..... IX, 158
— reasons for removal of Curtis from.....VIII, 282
— Schofield gives satisfaction in the.....VIII, 278
— — charges against, refuted IX, 161
— — imbecility charged as cause for removal..... IX, 161
— — Lincoln declines to remove.....IX, 161
— — relieved from command of.....IX, 264
— — temporary command, difficulties of.....IX, 267
See also, Missouri.
Department of the Mountain .....VII, 130, 236
Department of the Potomac, McClellan placed in command of.....VIII, 72
Department of St. Louis, orders persons south of military lines.....VIII, 277

Department of the Susquehanna, under command of Halleck.....X, 176
Department of Washington, under Halleck's command..X, 176
Department of the West, letter to commander of.VII, 11
Department of West Virginia, placed under Halleck X, 176
De Puy, Henry W., appointment as Indian agent.VI, 258
Derrickson, —, Capt., guard at Soldier's Retreat..VIII, 71
Description, personal, of Lincoln .....V, 288
Deserters, combinations to resist arrest of.....IX, 6
— proclamation offering pardon to.....XI, 51
— penalties of.....VIII, 308
Deshler, Jas., Brig.-Gen., reported killed at Chickamauga.....IX, 137
Despotism, warning against..X, 51; XI, 110
Dick, Franklin A., Prov.-Marshal-Gen., of Dept. of the Mo., superseded by Jas. O. Brodhead.....IX, 158
— arrest of McPheeters.....IX, 269
Dickinson, D. S., Gov., note to Baldwin.....X, 201
— interested in Edw. J. Westcott.....VIII, 234
Dickson, Engineer of the "Hibernia".....XI, 42
Dictators,.....VIII, 207
Dictionary of Congress, autobiography in.....II, 368
Diggins, —, ...II, 272
Diligence, rule for all..II, 141
Diller, Isaac R., Capt., new formula for gunpowder....IX, 54
Diller, J. R., postmaster at Springfield, Ill.....II, 109
Dimmick, —, Mrs., death of..X, 219
Dingman, A., Gen. telegram to.....VIII, 326
Diplomatic Corps....VI, 186
Directory of Congress, *see* Dictionary of Congress.
Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements, lecture on V, 99
Distillery, Lincoln works in III, 230
District of Columbia, abolition of slavery in..IV, 7, 12
— — — appropriation for....VII, 112
— — — bill for.....II, 96
— — currency, in....VII, 231
— gradual emancipation favored in.....II, 215
— L. on abolition in...VI, 80
— negroes in, number of.....VIII, 127
— opposition to slavery in....III, 262

District Columbia (*contd.*)
— recommended to Congress for favorable consideration. VII, 48
— slavery in, Henry Clay on.. III, 277
— — L. on.....III, 276
— — L.'s tolerance of.VI, 103
— slave-trade abolished.II, 203
— — in .....II, 202
— slaves, number of, in..... VII, 132
District Court; *see,* Court, district.
Divine Providence, belief in VIII, xxi
Divine Will, meditation on.. VIII, 52
— regard for.....VIII, 77
Dix, John A., Maj.-Gen., commissioner to examine State prisoners.....VII, 109
— letter to.....VIII, 186
— — asking consideration for Gen. Busteed.....VIII, 149
— — concerning N. Y. "World" and N. Y. "Journal of Commerce"..... X, 103
— money advanced for public defence.....VII, 192
— paroles Confederate soldiers IX, 90
— pickets at New Kent Court House.....VII, 245
— President Union Pacific R. R. Co., letter to....IX, 214
Dix, John A. (*contd.*)
— proposed for N. Y. mayoralty.....IX, 202
— telegram to.....VII, 260; VIII, 175, 209, 295
— — as to condition of railroad between Richmond and Fredericksburg....VIII, 270
— — number of Southern force at Richmond and Petersburg.....VIII, 78
— — telegraphic communication between White House and Williamsburg..VII, 247
— — case of Chas. Carpenter, deserter.....X, 81
— — movements of Kirby Smith.....VIII, 332
— — siege at Vicksburg..... VIII, 294
— to go to Fortress Monroe.. VII, 210
Dixon, Jas., Sen., letter to, introducing Bronson Murray, VII, 290
— recommends Edw. Goodman for collector at Hartford... VIII, 221
— speech of, on Mexican war II, 51
Dockyards, Confederate seizures of.....VI, 297
Doctrine, of Republican Party, Lincoln on .....VI, 22
Dodge, G. M., Maj.-Gen., plan to restore quiet in Mo..... X, 340

Dodge, G. M. (*contd.*)
— Price, Mrs., to remain in Mo.....X, 345
— telegram to.....X, 315
— — concerning Mrs. R. S. Ewell.....XI, 61
Dodge, Wm. E., Jr., letter to XI, 42
Dole, Geo. W., letter to.... V, 283
Donaldson, Edw., Lt.-Com., receives thanks of Congress VII, 162
Doniphan, A. W., Col., position on Mexican war..I, 353
Donnelly, Neil.....IV, 50
Doolittle, —, Sen.....X, 4
— announces a slate..... VII, 286
Doremus, John C., appointment of, to Whig State Central Committee.....I, 242
Dorsey, Azel W., family of.. VI, 27
— school of.....VI, 27
Doubleday, —, Gen., to await further orders.....IX, 110
Dougherty, John, Col., delegate at Springfield, Ill.IV, 42
— opposition to Douglas..... IV, 170
— support of Trumbull by.... IV, 9
Douglas, —, Mrs., memorandum of advice to..VII, 23
Douglas, J. M., Ill. Central R. R. Agent.....II, 354
Douglas, Stephen A., U. S. Sen. from Ill., alleged conspiracy of, in Dred Scott case.....III, 133
— answer to L.'s interrogatories ..... III, 294, 297, 300, 302; IV, 83
— — to Trumbull's interrogation.....IV, 58
— attack of Trumbull upon IV, 91, 94, 147
— attitude toward South..... III, 198
— cabinet-maker.....III, 209
— candidacy for president.... III, 157; VI, 12
— change of front on Territorial exclusion.....V, 67
— character of.....IV, 67
— — sketch of Lincoln by.. III, 209
— charge that Republican party dare not use name in Monroe Co., Ill.....IV, 10
— Chase's amendment defeated by.....III, 286
— connection with Lecompton Constitution.....III, 27
— conscientiousness of..... IV, 212
— conspiracy of, to nationalize slavery,...III, 187, 188, 284
— continues fight against L.. V, 140
— contrast to Lincoln..... III, 158

Douglas, S. A. (*contd.*)
— danger of, to Republican Party.....V, 118
— debates with, challenge to.. III, 189
— — L.'s use of Declaration of Independence in..XI, x
— — literary quality of..... I, xxi
— — reports of, to be preserved.....XI, 111
See also, Debates with Douglas.
— deception of.....III, 162
— declares government founded on white basis..... II, 259; III, 92, 216
— degree conferred upon..... IV, 82
— Democracy of.....VI, 22
— desirability as Democratic presidential nominee..... V, 195
— disagreement with Buchanan II, 358; III, 333
— disavowal of interviews on Dred Scott decision..... III, 240
— disclaims negro kinship... III, 146
— difference between States and Territories stated by.. IV, 263
— — from L. on slavery question.....IV, 32
— dupe of conspirators..... IV, 217

Douglas, S. A. (*contd.*)
— early home in Vermont.... IV, 53, 81
— election of, to Ill. Supreme Court.....IV, 222
— enemy of liberty....V, 137
— estimate of Lincoln..... III, 70, 152, 209; IV, 157
— estimate of Mo. Compromise by.....II, 199
— evasiveness of..... IV, 97, 207, 208
— expectation of leading Republicans.....III, 347
— extract from speech at Charleston in the matter of alleged plot of Kansas Constitution.....IV, 128
— falsity of his slavery premises.....XI, 109
— fatal heresy denounced.... V, 271
— fracas with Francis..I, 149
— Fred Douglass' appeal for defeat of.....IV, 169
— holds L. responsible for Trumbull's charges..IV, 93
— indifference to slavery..... V, 62
— influence of.....IV, 223
— instrumentality in changing basis of slavery.....V, 67
— interrogatories of, answered by L.....III, 273
— — to L. .....III, 271
— introduction of Kan.-Neb. bill by.....III, 352

Douglas, S. A. (*contd.*)
— Iowa letter of, opposing repeal of African slave-trade laws.....V, 207
— Kansas, admission of..... III, 295
— L. charged with desire to impose uniformity on North and South.....III, 286
— — charged with dissension by.....III, 102
— — — dissolution of Whig Party by.....III, 316
— — — inciting war by..... III, 238; IV, 19
— — — lying by..III, 283, 331
— — interrogatories to.III, 279
— — quoted in "Harper's Magazine".....V, 150
— — rival of, in 1858..... VIII, xx
— — welcomed to Congress by III, 210
— Little Giant.....XI, 106
— manipulation of Bell supporters by.....VI, 52
— motion to extend Mo. line.. II, 201
— negro, estimate of...V, 273
— — preferred to crocodile.. V, 204
— — citizenship opposed by.. III, 91, 216
— — declared inferior by.... III, 217, 218
— — suffrage opposed by..... IV, 26
— new States, admission of.. IV, 28
— opposed to repeal of laws against African slave-trade V, 183
— — to Lecompton Constitution.....III, 110; IV, 225
— orders from, to Ill. Legislature to approve Nebraska Bill.....II, 286
— preservation of the Union.. III, 105
— persistence of.....VI, 77
— personal appearance of..... III, 158
— pledge to Clay.....III, 104
— policy towards Americans.. III, 183
— — — Old Whigs...III, 183
— political ingenuity of..... V, 94
— — good faith, necessity for IV, 11
— — shrewdness of..... V, 118, 216, 217
— principles of, alike in all quarters.....III, 208
— prospects of, for presidential nomination.....VI, 11
— public opinion molded by.. V, 197
— purpose to nationalize slavery ..... III, 181, 188, 239; IV, 158
— reasons for nomination of, for presidency.....V, 215

Douglas, S. A. (*contd.*)
— recoil of sectionalism upon VI, 43
— rejoinder at Alton....V, 72
— — Galesburg.....IV, 297
— — Jonesboro.....IV, 71
— — Ottawa.....III, 258
— renown of.....III, 157
— re-opening of slavery question by.....IV, 187
— reply to L. at Charleston... IV, 142
— — — Freeport.....III, 293
— — — Quincy.....IV, 335
— report of, upon Kan. Enabling Act.....IV, 95
— Republican support of..... VI, 116
— — feeling for.....II, 364
— resolution of pro-slavery, Democrats to sustain..... II, 268
— reversal of, on Mo. Compromise.....V, 210
— school-teacher at Winchester, Ill.....III, 209
— sedition law of.....V, 325
— services as Sen.....III, 283
— share in breaking down Ill. Supreme Court..... IV, 377; V, 213
— shrewdness in debate..... V, 33
— speech at Alton.....V, 1
— — Bloomington.....III, 54
— — Galesburg.....IV, 237
— — Jonesboro.....IV, 1
Douglas, S. A. (*contd.*)
— — Memphis....V, 121, 199
— — Ottawa.....III, 200
— — Peoria.....II, 190
— — Springfield.....III, 108
— subversion of equality by.. IV, 200
— sustained by Ill. Legislature 1854.....II, 306
— Tenth amendment...V, 305
— Territories' power to exclude slavery.....III, 297
— Trumbull's repudiation plan defeated by.....III, 211
— vote of, on Chase's amendment to Neb. bill...III, 286
— youth.....III, 209
— — a disadvantage of.V, 101
See also, Debates with Douglas; Kansas-Nebraska Bill; Lecompton Constitution; Missouri Compromise; Squatter Sovereignty.
Douglass, Fred, abolition radicalism of.....IV, 347
— appeal of, to support L..... IV, 169
— canvass for L..... IV, 76, 77, 176
— counsellor with L..III, 305
— Douglas offended by..IV, 8
— Lincoln's ally.....IV, 168
— opinion of L.....V, vi
— speeches of, in Ill....IV, 8
Doyle, Thos. A., candidate for postmaster at Providence.. VI, 270

Draft, constitutionality of.... IX, 60
— exemptions in Penn..X, 258
— for one-year troops..X, 166
— form for notification of.... IX, 93
— for 300,000 men Oct. 17, 1863.....X, 172
— — 500,000 July 18, 1864.... X, 164
— — 500,000 Dec. 19, 1864... X, 316
— law, complaint of....IX, 78
— law of substitutes....IX, 79
— N. Y., reduction of quotas.. X, 23
— — refusal to suspend in... IX, 58
— N. J., letter regarding..... IX, 43
— operation of the....IX, 105
— order for, for 500,000 men, IX, 302
— — corrections in..... X, 317; XI, 4
— principle of.....IX, 80
— requirements of.....XI, 8
— riots in N. Y. C..VIII, 266
— telegram to J. S. Hayes, concerning....IX, 105, 112
— Vt., complains of.....XI, 6
— volunteers to have credit on quotas of.....IX, 93
Draft-bill, opposition in both houses to .....VIII, 266
Draft law, faithful execution of.....IX, 83
Draft law (*contd.*)
— difficulties in administering IX, 82
Drafted men, difference between volunteers and.IX, 83
— old regiments filling up with VIII, 69
Drafting from militia.VII, 287
— government pressed to course of.....VII, 301
Drake, Chas. D., letter to on situation in Mo.....IX, 155
— — factional quarrels in Mo. VIII, 276
Dred Scott, appeal to court.. III, 81
— emancipated.....IV, 159
— held in slavery in Kan..... IV, 205
— ownership of...IV, 159, 340
— reason for trial of..IV, 387
— remanded to slavery..... III, 81
— slavery in Mo.....III, 81
— taken to Minn.....III, 81
Dred Scott decision,..... II, 315; III, 9, 39, 251, 255, 288; IV, 158, 159; V, 67, 70, 271.
— adherence of Douglas to... IV, 222
— attitude of L. towards..... V, 2
— binding character of..... IV, 357
— comprehensive character of IV, 380

Dred Scott dec'n (*contd.*)
— consequence of.....XI, 109
— conspiracy to secure.....
III, 244
— destroyer of popular sovereignty.....III, 138
— discussion of.....V, 175
— Douglas on.....
III, 90, 133, 181
— effect of....III, 235; V, 178
— — elections upon...IV, 286
— — how nullified.....IV, 87
— essence of.....IV, 283
— force of.....IV, 209
— free States, applies to.....
XI, 109
— how made.....IV, 59
— L.'s reply to Douglas on...
II, 315
— nationalization of slavery by
V, 121
— nature of, anticipated.....
IV, 218
— objections of L. to...IV, 22
— on negro citizenship.....
IV, 185
— opposition of L. to..III, 177
— — Republican party to.....
IV, 329
— part of conspiracy to nationalize slavery.....V, 31
— points of.....IV, 233
— right of State to confer negro suffrage.....IV, 26
— slavery carried into free States by.....V, 181
— — nationalized by..III, 290

Dred Scott dec'n (*contd.*)
— — superiority asserted .....
XI, 108
Dresser, Chas., contract with L.....I, 269
Driggs, J. F., letter to.X, 355
Drummond, —, debate on election case.....I, 153
Drunkenness in the army....
IX, 145
Dryer, —, U. S. minister at Honolulu .....VII, 135
Dubois, Jesse K., letter to...
II, 296, 354
— — and others, on appointments.....VIII, 286
— — on Freeman and McCallister & Stebbin's bonds.....
VIII, 139
— telegram to.....
IX, 19, 25, 119, 133; X, 269
— — on victory at Antietam..
VIII, 34
Duff Green building appropriated by the government....
VIII, 166
Duffie, Alfred N., Brig.-Gen., brave action near Millersburg.....VIII, 330
— success at Lewisburg.IX,204
Dummer, Henry E., recommendation to.....II, 278
Dunbar, Paul Laurence, "Lincoln,".....IV, xvii
Dunlop, G.W., U. S. Rep. from Ky., consents to Bayles raising regiment....VI, 295

Du Pont, Sam. F., Adm., instructions to, for operations at Charleston. VIII, 246, 248
— nominated to Senate..... VII, 97
— receives vote of thanks from Congress.....VII, 98, 137
Durant, Thos. J., conference with Banks suggested..... IX, 58
— complains of police regulations in La.....VII, 295
— registry of La. voters for constitutional convention... IX, 57, 200
— relations between master and slave.....VII, 295
— telegrams to...IX, 172, 176
Durley, Williamson, letter to I, 275
Duties, proclamation on discriminating .....IX, 260

E

Early, Jubal A., Gen., deadlocked with Sheridan..... X, 223
— efficiency of his army destroyed.....X, 251
— Sheridan's defeat of..X, 251
East, L. underrated by the.... VII, xvii
East, E. H., letter to..X, 21
East, John, deported..XI, 33
Easthouse, —, death of I, 211
Eastman, M. E.....VIII, 219
Eckert, T. T., Maj., Hampton Roads conference..... X, 348; XI, 15, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26
— ordered to report to Seward at Fort Monroe.....X, 354
Ecuador, adjustment of claims of .....X, 40
Edds, Thos., alleged desertion of.....IX, 117
— with Burnside on mud march.....IX, 119
Edenton, N. C., blockaded... XI, 80
Edgar County, Ill, insurrection in.....X, 28
Education, chief importance of I, 7
— definition of.....V, 254
— Jefferson's proposed application of Treasury surplus to II, 38
— combination with labor..... V, 251
— demanded by free labor.... V, 252
— freedom from manual labor by.....V, 251
— plan for, of negro children in La.....IX, 56
— of L.....I, xiii; V, x
— political, executive interference with.....VI, 129
Edwards, B. S., Logan's candidacy endorsed by..XI, 101
— signer of opinion on challenge to voters.....II, 178
Edwards, Cyrus, candidate

for head of land office.... II, 105
— L. pledged to support..... II, 111, 119
— offended because of Land Office appointment...II, 124
Edwards, Ninian W., appointed to Whig State Central Committee.....I, 242
— resolutions of, adopted..... III, 117
— slander of.....I, 16
Edwards Station, Grant defeats Loring and Pemberton near.....VIII, 281
Edwardsville, Ill., fragment of speech at.....XI, 106
"Egypt,".....III, 15
Egypt, maltreatment of Faris-el-Hakim in.....VII, 175
— relations with U. S..X, 287
— Viceroy of, letter to..VII, 7
Election, presidential, Whig principle of.....II, 69
— — of 1852.....IV, 3
— — of 1860, acceptance of nomination.....VI, 13
— — — celebration of L.'s victory at Springfield..... VI, 72
— — — combination to defeat Republican ticket..... VI, 57
— — — danger of local issues in.....V, 131
— — — difficulties of counting votes in.....VI, 91
Election (*contd.*)
— — — excitement of..... V, 125, 130, 131, 155
— — — importance of Ill. in V, 257
— — — — Pa. in.....V, 257
— — — nomination of L..... VI, 12
— — of 1864.....X, 164
— — — encouraging results of X, 306
— — — importance of.X, 171
— — — L.'s concern in..... X, 225
— — — L. renominated..... X, 116, 117
— — — necessity of...X, 263
— — — philosophy taught by X, 264
— — — postponement of, a disaster.....X, 263
— — — strain upon Federal government.....X, 263
Elections, fraudulent practices at.....I, 152
— free government impossible without.....X, 263
— of 1862, uneasiness indicated by.....IX, 245
— public purposes indicated by X, 304
— Steele instructed to hold in Ark.....IX, 291
— unfairness in.....III, 112
— Whig principle of....II, 69
Election laws, opinion on.... V, 86

Electoral Tickets, Lincoln usually on .....V, 288
— votes, Congressional power over.....XI, 9
— — Lincoln's position on defined.....XI, 9
Electoral College, number of votes received.....X, 283
— resolution on State representation in.....XI, 9
— thanks to committee announcing result of count... XI, 10
Electors, presidential, L.'s change of opinion concerning.....I, 355
Elizabethtown, Ky., Lincoln family at.....VI, 22
— marriage of Sally Bush Johnston at.....VI, 27
Elkins, Wm. F., letter to.... VIII, 286
Ellet, A. W., Gen., ordered to report to Rear-Adm. Porter VIII, 73
Ellis, Ab. Y., recommendation of.....II, 109
Ellsworth, Elmer E., Col., letter to parents of....VI, 287
Ellsworth, Edw., appointment of.....VI, 340
Ellsworth gun carriage, order for.....VI, 361
Emancipation, attitude of Lincoln toward .....V, xvii
— besought to proclaim..... VIII, 28; XI, xi
Emancipation (*contd.*)
— compensated; *see* Compensated Emancipation.
— fear that friends of, may divide on.....X, 31
— Frémont's proclamation..... VI, 351
— — — popular.....VI, 359
— gradual; *see* Gradual Emancipation.
— Hodges' position on..X, 65
— Hunter's order revoked.... VII, 170
— initiation of.....VII, 113
— means of shortening war... VIII, 124; X, 191
— in Mo.....VII, 123
— misunderstood in Md..... X, 31
— ordinance of, in Tenn..... X, 340
— possible effect of, on border slave States.....VIII, 33
— question of feeding slaves in case of.....VIII, 30
— reasons for not proclaiming VIII, 30
— schemes of.....II, 207
— States in control of..... VII, 122
— views of army commanders on .....IX, 99
— wages of white laborer increased by.....VIII, 126
See also, Compensated Emancipation; Gradual Emancipation.

Emancipation Proclamation, account of related to Carpenter .....X, 1
— amendment of.....XI, xvi
— announcement of final..... IX, 245
— comprehensive character of X, 353
— consummation of war..... X, 353
— character of L. related to.. XI, viii
— crisis in Civil War marked by.....IX, 246
— decline of stocks after..... VIII, 50
— difficulty of applying to certain parts of La. and Va... IX, 108
— draft of, as first submitted to Cabinet.....VII, 288
— — as finally submitted to Cabinet.....VIII, 155
— — final.....VIII, 161
— effect of, in Ark.....IX, 52
— — in Mo.....IX, 52
— — on troops.....VIII, 50
— England's attitude on..... VIII, xxxix
— gain by.....X, 67, 191
— hundred-days notice of, given.....VIII, 182
— lithographs of.....IX, 286
— legality of, questionable.... X, 353
— military necessity of..... VIII, 182
Emancipation Proc'n (*cont.*)
— military, revoked by L..... XI, xii
— original draft prepared.... X, 1
— — letter transmitting..... IX, 181
— perpetuity of, assured..... IX, 57
— preliminary ..... VII, 288; VIII, 36
— preparation of second draft of.....X, 3
— public discussion of..XI, xi
— ratification in Md....X, 270
— recognized in La. constitution.....IX, 56
— reply to serenade upon announcement of.....VIII, 43
— retraction of, impossible.... IX, 249; XI, 30
— signing of..... V, xxi; VIII, 161
— Thirteenth Amendment needed to make effective... X, 353
Embree, E., letter to..II, 121
Emerson, R. W., opinion of Lincoln.....V, xxvi
Employment, indorsement of application for.....X, 192
Enabling act, Col.....X, 54
England, *see*, Great Britain.
English, Wm. H., repudiates his own bill..IV, 242; V, 16
English bill, effort to force... IV, 242

English Bill (*contd.*)
— nature of.....IV, 239
— opposed by Douglas.....
III, 59, 113; IV, 239; V, 14
— origin of.....III, 166
Enos, L. A.,.....II, 50
Enrollment, N. Y. districts of
X, 22
Epigram, authorship of.....
III, 349
Equality of all nations.....
III, 148
— political, of negroes.....
II, 207; III, 309; IV, 254;
XI, 131
Escambia Bay, Miss., landing
at.....X, 259
Ethridge, E., letter to..X, 248
Euclid, mastery of.....VI, 28
Eulogy of Henry Clay..II, 155
Europe, overland telegraph to
X, 286
— arbitration by, impossible...
VI, 254
— Everett visits.....VIII, 43
— feeling for L. in..VIII, xlix
— population of.VIII, 121, 123
Evans, French S. appointment
of.....VI, 266
Evans, —, representative from
Me.....XI, 99
Evans, E. P.,.....IX, 213
Evans, John, Gov. of Col., informed of signing of Col. enabling act.....X, 54
Evarts, Wm. M., authorized to
act.....VII, 191
Everett, —, importunity of..
I, 216
Everett, Edw., candidate....
VI, 13
— death of.....X, 346
— letter introducing.....
VIII, 43
— letter to.....IX, 210
— Gettysburg speech...X, 346
— — orator at.....IX, 211
— thanks for address..IX, 302
— visits Europe.....VIII, 43
Ewell, E. R., Lt.-Gen., attacks
Banks.....VII, 181
— captured.....XI, 76
— Frémont attacks...VII, 180
— joins Jackson.....VII, 198
— reported at Dalton..IX, 169
— uncertainty of....VIII, 317
Ewell, E. R., Mrs., amnesty
for.....XI, 61
Ewing, Thos., Sec. of the Int.
II, 132
Ewing, W. L. D., Gen., recommendations of.....I, 163
— Sen. from Ill.....I, 252
— supports Butterfield..II, 118
Exchange of prisoners, correspondence on....IX, 303
Execution of Indians; *see* Indians.
Executive Clemency; *see* Clemency.
Executive, distinct from Legislative.....V, 19; VI, 129
Excitement, political, in 1860
V, 125, 130, 131, 155

Expediency, right superior to V, 14
Experience, constancy of..... I, 112
Extension of slavery; *see* Slavery.

F

Fairbanks, Erastus, Gov. of Vt., telegrams to....VI, 352
Fairs; *see* Sanitary Fairs.
Faith, Lincoln's good...X, 191
Faris-El-Hakim, outraged... VII, 175
Farleigh, Wm., graduation... VI, 22
Farm work, Lincoln's youth at V, 288
Farmer, right to consideration I, 306
Farmers, as a class..... V, 238, 239
— interest of.....V, 239
— L.'s opinion of.....V, 238
Farmington, —, Lincoln's visit to .....I, 177
Farnsworth, John F., counsellor of L.....III, 305
— opposed to admission of slave States.....IV, 80, 304
— supports L.....IV, 174
Farragut, Dav. G., Adm., takes New Orleans.VII, 294
— Mobile harbor, thanks for results in.....X, 212
— receives thanks of Congress VII, 161
Farragut, Dav. G. (*contd.*)
— telegram to.....X, 314
Fast Days; *see* National Fast Days.
Fathers, framers of Constitution.....V, 294, 297
Fauchet, attempted seizure of VIII, 137
Fayette County, Ky., removal of Thos. Lincoln to..VI, 57
Fayetteville, Ark., Curtis engages Price at.....X, 259
Federal Government, bank circulation and...VIII, 102
— based on diversities..IV, 21
— best known.....X, 252
— churches and..... VIII, 169; X, 4, 30
— compensated emancipation and.....VII, 112
— course of, after war.VI, 323
— currency fluctuations to be prevented by.....VIII, 101
— Douglas on slavery policy of IV, 34
— established only for white race....III, 92; IV, 23, 181
— existence tested.....X, 263
— expenditures of, on African colonization.....X, 36
— finances.....VIII, 100
— labor and capital in..... VII, 57
— L.'s assassination a blow at X, xvii
— — determination to save... VII, 293; X, 244

Federal Govt. (*contd.*)
— majority against in Mo.... VII, 76
— necessity of maintenance... VI, 322
— paralyzed during war..... VII, 295
— power of, to make internal improvements.....II, 29, 42
— powers of, general,..... VI, 316
— — use of.....V, 16
— protection of, before L.'s inauguration.....VI, 92
— relations of, to Indian tribes VII, 46
— slaves declared free by..... VIII, 39
— surrender to pro-slavery element urged.....VI, 93
Federal Union, anticipated conditions for preservation of .....VI, 93
— avowal of severance from.. VI, 298, 303
— candidates loyal to...X, 264
— condition of, 1861...VII, 54
— devotion of South to..... VI, 313
— division of..... II, 294; VII, 51; VIII, 112
— — in event of Republican success.....V, 219
— — shallowness of pretext for.....VI, 94
— Douglas on preservation of III, 105
Federal Union (*contd.*)
— foreign enmity to...VI, 311
— history of.....VI, 174
— L.'s love of.....II, 236
— — recognition of danger to VI, 132
— loyalty of North to..II, 282
— — soldiers and seamen to.. VI, 321
— older than Constitution..... VI, 174
— — States.....VI, 315
— preservation a world's work VI, 82, 173; X, 262
— — necessary ..... VI, 299; VIII, 15; XI, 116
— restoration of...X, 191, 353
— — negro troops necessary to X, 222
— — no thought of, by Confederate leaders.....X, 197
— — sole purpose of Civil War.....X, 191
— safety of.....XI, 110
— secession from.....VI, 175
— slavery only danger to..... V, 61, 346
— States created by...VI, 315
— — seceded, restoration to.. XI, 131
— voters in La. loyal to.XI, 89
Fell, J. W., autobiography to V, 286
Fence rails, campaign incident of.....VI, 29
Fendall, P. R., Mrs. acts as nurse.....IX, 46

Fenton, Sallie A., letter to... VIII, 174
Ferguson, R. L., telegram to X, 332
Ferguson, "Uncle Ben," illness of.....I, 187
Fernandina, Fla., blockade raised.....X, 272, 288
Fessenden, W. P., appointed Sec. of Treas.....X, 140
— cotton transportation, order concerning.....X, 207
— organization of House of Rep.....IX, 191
Few, Wm., vote of.V, 296, 297
Ficklin, O. B., letter to.X, 166
— witness.....IV, 191
Field, A. P., letter to..I, 95
Field, Chris. F., loyalty of... IX, 294
Field, Dav. Dudley, Lincoln escorted by .....V, 293
Field, Maunsell B., appointment of.....X, 137
Fignaire e Morai, J. C. de, Com., invitation of...XI, 34
Filley, O. D., interested in McPheeters' case..... VIII, 170; IX, 269; X, 4
Fillmore, Millard, Albany speech .....II, 293
Finance Committee, Lincoln member of .....I, 92
See also, Banks; Currency; Greenbacks; Loans; Money; Protection; Public money; Tariff taxation.
Finances, condition of..... VIII, 100
Fink, W. E., letter to...IX, 1
Findley, Jos. R., Capt., supposed skulker.....X, 242
"Fingal," steamer, captured.. IX, 253
Finney, A. D., letter to.VI, 109
Fish, Dan., Judge..... I, vii; XI, 137
Fishback, W. M., letter to.. X, 11
— telegram to.....X, 37
Fisher, Arch., supposed murder of.....I, 168
Fisher, C. H., letter to..VI, 53
Fisher, Geo. P., letter to.... VIII, 12
Fisheries, correspondence on.. VI, 330
Fisk, Clint. B., Gen., inefficient .....XI, 35
— note to.....IX, 188
Fithian, Wm., Dr... VIII, 144
— letters to...II, 129; III, 347
Fitzgibbon, Jackson, Chap., appeals for clemency XI, 37
Fitzsimmons, Thos., U. S. Rep. from Pa., reports bill.. V, 297
Five Forks, Va., Sheridan retakes .....XI, 66
Flag, raising, *see* Independence Hall.
Flags, captured.....XI, 65
Flanders, B. F., confers with Banks .....IX, 58

Flanders, B. F. (*contd.*)
— letter to.....IX, 203
— reports on reconstruction... IX, 200
Flatboat, employed on..V, 361
Fleming, Chas. E., Lt., inquiry on .....VII, 149
Fleming, J. M., letter to..... IX, 63
Fletcher, —, Gov. of Mo., letter to.....XI, 38, 42
Flint, Chas. L., letter to.... VII, 170
Florida, cost to remove Indians from .....VI, 317
— Du Pont's services on coast of.....VII, 137
— Hunter's proclamation..... VII, 170
— insurrection in..I, 129, 130
— ports blockaded.....X, 14
— reconstruction in...IX, 283
— suspension of habeas corpus in.....VI, 271
"Florida," pirate, captured... X, 261
Florida War, cost of....I, 129
Folancy, —, appeal for.IX, 104
Follet, Foster & Co., publish L.'s Ohio speeches..V, 289
— repudiation of "Life" by... VI, 40
Foote, And. H., Adm., commandant Brooklyn Navy Yard .....VI, 233
— recommended for thanks of Congress.....VII, 253
Foote, Hen. S., attempted escape.....X, 339
Foot, Sol., letter to...VII, 279
Ford, "History of Illinois,"... IV, 190
Ford's Theatre,.....XI, 94
Foreign governments, asked to form conventions..... VIII, 96
— influence of, on war..... VIII, 195
— intercourse, expenses of.... VIII, 103
— relations with.....VIII, 98
— — responsibilities of.XI, 128
Foreigners, rights of..IX, 227
— naturalization of....IX, 228
See also, German citizens.
Forgery, allegation of, against L. .....IV, 194
Forney, John W., visits Washington .....X, 177
Forrest, N. B., Gen., reports Fort Pillow massacre..X, 78
— inquiry for headquarters... VIII, 282
Fort Brown, erection of I, 327
See also, Mexico; Mexican War.
Fort Donelson, letter on.... VII, 105
— plan for taking....VII, 106
Fort Gaines, reduction of.... X, 211, 212
— salute at.....X, 214
Fort Hatteras, N. C., Federal recruiting at.....VI, 356

Fort Independence, commander suspends execution.... IX, 292
Fort Kearney, desertions from VI, 65
Fort McHenry, Wool at.... VII, 208
Fort Morgan, capture of.... X, 206, 211, 212, 214
Fort Pickens, re-inforcement of .....VI, 301, 302
Fort Pillow, Tenn., Davis' services at.....VII, 267
— massacre ..... VII, 267; X, 78, 79, 92
— — Cabinet consulted on.... X, 92
— — exaggerated reports of.. X, 79
— — Forrest's report of.X, 78
Fort Powell, reduction of.... X, 211, 212
— salute at.....X, 214
Fortress Monroe, Va., Negro troops for.....VIII, 186
— Confederate peace commissioners at.....X, 349
— Dix sent to.....VII, 208
— Eckert ordered to....X, 354
— Grant meets L. at..X, 174
— L. joins Seward at..... X, 351, 355
— — visits .....X, 71
— N. Y. Naval Brigade, claim for transporting, to.XI, 131
— orders to Capt. Fox at..... VII, 129
Forts, Confederate seizures of VI, 297
Fort Scott,.....VII, 56
Fort Smith, Ark., in Curtis' department .....IX, 275
Fort Sumter, S. C., Anderson in command at.....VI, 188
— armament of.....VI, 298
— assault on..VI, 303; IX, 106
— — situation after...VII, 52
— — war begun by....X, 221
— attempt to provision..... VI, 241, 302
— Du Pont and Hunter cooperate in taking..VIII, 248
— evacuation of.....VI, 301
— fall of, question of date.... XI, 63
— Federal troops in...IX, 106
— opinion of Cabinet on..... VI, 227
— — Fox on.....VI, 206, 239
— — Scott on .....VI, 189
Fort Trumbull, offer to garrison .....X, 97
Fort Wagner, occupied by Federal force.....IX, 106
Fort Warren, telegrams to officer in command at..X, 81
Fort Wayne, Ind., Cass supt. of Indian agency at..II, 81
Foster C. W., Col., draft corrected by.....XI, 4
Foster, J. G., Gen., Bramlette complain of.....IX, 278
— gallantry of his division.... XI, 70

Foster, J. G. (*contd.*)
— Grant with.....IX, 286
— Peirpoint confers with.....IX, 62
— telegrams to.IX, 105, 176, 297
— Wright case ....IX, 53, 169
Fourth of July.....II, 280
— Vicksburg falls, 1863,.....IX, 21
See also, Declaration of Independence.
Fowler, —, Col., Odell directed to find.....X, 178
Fox, G. V., Capt., directions as to "Monitor".....VII, 129
— letters to.....VI, 261
— opinion on Fort Sumter....VI, 206, 239
Fox, Wm., *see* Gustave Blittersdorf.
Fragment, Chicago banquet speech .....II, 308
— Galena speech.....II, 292
— notes for lecture....II, 138
— — law lecture.....II, 140
— — speeches .....IV, 88, 200, 201, 202, 203, 212, 225
— on government..II, 182, 186
— sectionalism.....II, 299
— slavery.....II, 183, 184, 186
— suggestions on Taylor's position.....II, 55
France, Bennett, Jas. Gordon, promised ministry to..XI, 38
— court of, Americans presented at.....VII, 98
France (*contd.*)
— Dayton proposed as minister to.....VI, 223
— exportation of contraband VIII, 198
— fisheries, correspondence on VI, 330
— Fremont proposed as minister to.....VI, 190
— indemnity to.....I, 131
— — owners of "Jules et Marie,".....VIII, 132
— movement to coerce European opinion.....VI, 280
— neutrality vindicated.....IX, 224
— purchase of territory from..I, 339
— understanding with Great Britain.....VI, 280
Franchise, elective, caution on X, 38
See also, Negro.
Francis, J. M., signer of invitation to Henry Clay..I, 232
Francis, Simeon, fracas with Douglas .....I, 149
— pseud. of L.....I, 64
— recommendation of..II, 130
Franklin, Benj., manners of..III, v
— opposed to slavery.....V, 304; VIII, ix
Franklin, W. B., Gen., answers L.'s questions.VII, 265
— plan of operations.....VIII, 150

Franklin, W. B. (*contd.*)
— relieved from duty. VIII, 204
Frazer, W. E., letter to V, 257
Frederick, Md., Hunter at... X, 179
— Meade at.....X, 263
— L.'s remarks at....XI, 124
Fredericksburg, Va., defeat at VIII, 149
— evacuation of.....VII, 147
— force out of position at.... VII, 234
— Lee's army near..VIII, 315
— McCall to withdraw from.. VII, 206
— McClellan protects..... VII, 213
— Richmond railroad, condition of.....VIII, 270
Freedmen, colonization of.... VII, 50
— immigration into Ill. prohibited.....III, 149
— status of, in Ky....III, 100
— status of, in Me.....III, 99
See also, Negroes.
Freedom; *see,* Liberty.
Frelinghuysen, —, Atty. Gen., appeals of.....IX, 125
Free labor; *see,* Labor, free.
Freeman, —, connected with McCallister and Stebbins bonds .....VIII, 139
Freese, Jac., appointment of.. IX, 206
Freese, J. R., Dr., provost-marshal .....X, 226
Free soil, L. a representative of .....II, 89
— party, dereliction of...II, 92
— — effect of..III, 78; IV, 6
Free State Democratic party, Douglas proposes to form.. IV, 226
Free States, against South... IV, 5
— number of mulattoes in.... III, 356
— people of independent..... V, 249
— Washington's hope for..... V, 312
Free Trade.....VII, 296
Frémont, John C., Gen., at Harper's Ferry....VII, 209
— at Moorefield.....VII, 195
— Blenker's division ordered to VII, 138, 225
— commands First Corps, Army of Va.....VII, 236
— — negro troops...VIII, 288
— dissatisfaction with..... VI, 361
— emancipation proclamation of.....VI, 350, 358
— — ordered to modify..... VI, 351, 353
— — popularity of....VI, 359
— fraternizes with Douglas... IV, 229
— guards against Jackson.... VII, 223
— Hamilton's dispatch sent to VII, 199

Frémont, John C. (*contd.*)
— Harrisonburg, movements near ..... VII, 179, 180, 195, 214, 218, 219, 223, 225
— introduces restraint system of trade in Dept. of Mo.... IX, 158
— letter to, on supposed promise of 35,000 men..VII, 224
— — instructions to fall back VII, 218
— — Jackson's position..... VII, 219, 222
— L's confidence in integrity of VI, 354
— — support of,.....II, 290
— Mt. Jackson, Va., position at VII, 215, 227
— movements in West..... VI, 332
— needs assistance....VI, 352
— Ohio River, guards..... VI, 357
— presidential campaign of... II, 292
— — possibility.....X, 116
— proposed as minister to France.....VI, 190
— relieved of command..... VII, 10
— Strasburg, arrives at..... VII, 205
— — ordered to.....VII, 202
— telegram to, authorizing purchase of horses..... VII, 178
Frémont, John C. (*contd.*)
— — for information on Cairo VI, 339
— — ordering move against enemy.....VII, 165, 200
— protects Shenandoah Valley and Western Va...VII, 225
— seizes railroad in East Tenn. VII, 224
— troops in Mo. unreliable.... VII, 76
Frémont, John C., Mrs. letter to.....VI, 354
French, B. B., letter to..X, 56
French settlements, slavery in .....V, 224
French, W. H., Maj.-Gen., report's Lee's retreat..IX, 18
— success on Rappahannock.. IX, 204
— telegram to on destruction of pontoons .....IX, 17
Front Royal, Va., Banks ordered to.....VII, 214
— Confederate movements near.....VII, 186, 187
— Federal line broken at..... VII, 186
— Jackson near.....VII, 187
— McDowell ordered to..... VII, 202
— Shields retakes....VII, 207
Frost, Emily S., Mrs., affidavit in Wright case IX, 120
Fry, James B., Asst. Adj.-Gen., orders to Schenck.... VI, 328

Fry, James B. (*contd.*)
— letter to.....VI, 50
Fry, J. R., letters to.....X, 89
Fugitive negroes; *see*, Negroes, fugitive.
Fugitive-slave law, constitutionality of..III, 275; V, 69
— demand for repeal of..... III, 260; IV, 7, 13; V, 136
— enforcement of..V, 232, 279; VI, 78, 172; VIII, 111
— L.'s position on.....II, 243
— — tolerance of.....VI, 103
— Lovejoy's resolutions for repeal of.....III, 322
— passage of...II, 203; IV, 62
— — Southern demand for... II, 202
Fugitive slaves, protection of VIII, 38, 258
— reclamation of, Constitutional language on.....V, 49
— surrender of.....VI, 181
Fuller, —, mail-contractor.... I, 348
Fulton, —, brings news from the front.....VII, 243, 244
"Funayma Solace," Japanese steamer.....XI, 133
Furniture, security for..... IV, 199

G

Gage, Geo., letter from II, 267
— pledge of.....II, 272
Gaines, John P., Maj., opinion on Mexican War..II, 87
Gaines, John P. (*contd.*)
— volunteer of 1812.....II, 13
"Galena," steamer, movements of .....VII, 155
Galena, Ill., "Jeffersonian"... II, 271
— L.'s speech at.....II, 292
Galesburg, Ill., Douglas' rejoinder at.....IV, 297
— L.'s reply at.....IV, 262
— — speech at.....IV, 237
Galloway, Sam., letter to..... VI, 7, 40, 134
Galveston, Tex., blockaded... XI, 80
— cotton from.....X, 186
Gamble, Hamilton R., Gov. of Mo., authorizes Moss to arm Clinton and Platte counties .....IX, 146
— Cameron's letter to..VI, 338
— head of Union party in Mo. VIII, 283
— letter to, on Mo. difficulties IX, 176
— — removal of officers..... VIII, 155
— order approving plan of.... VII, 15
— question of, on status of Mo. troops.....VIII, 90
— — to concerning maintenance of law by enrolled militia.....VIII, 147, 153
— — of Unionism of.VIII, 171
"Gangs of hogs," story of... II, 88

Gantt, —, instruction to..... IX, 296
Gardner, Prof., letter to VI, 60
Garfield, Jas., Abram, failure of .....VIII, 273
— "Lincoln and Emancipation" XI, v
Garrett, J. W., telegram to.. X, 142, 154
Garrison, Wm. Lloyd, radicalism of.....IV, 347
— thanked.....X, 345
Gasparin, A. de, Count, letter to .....VII, 301
Gaston, Miss, refuses to take oath .....X, 37
Geary, John W., Bvt.-Maj.-Gen., dispatches from..... VII, 194
— reports Jackson's movements.....VII, 178
— reports strength and position of enemy..... VII, 183, 197
General Government, see Federal Government.
General Land Office, Lincoln proposed for....II, 105, 123
— Shields' incumbency of..... IV, 12
General Orders, *see* Orders, general.
Genius, aim of.....I, 47
— L.'s.....VIII, 206
Gentry, M. P., Cabinet possibility .....VI, 94
— letter to.....X, 38
Georgetown, S. C., blockaded XI, 80
Georgia, cedes Miss. and Ala. V, 298
— martial law in.....VII, 170
— Sherman's campaign in.... IX, 254; X, 211, 237
— U. S. troops in, embarrassed by Ky. combinations..... X, 146
German citizens, address to.. VI, 119
— opinion of.....VI, 120
Getty, G. W., Gen...VIII, 285
Gettysburg, Pa., Everett's speech at .....X, 346
— L.'s address at.....IX, 209
— — feeling about battle at.. X, 346
— news of battle at....IX, 17
Gettysburg Address, literary style of.....I, xxviii
— manuscript of.....IX, 303
— successive versions..IX, 209
Ghislen, J. D., Jr., affidavit in Wright case.....IX, 119
Gibson, —, resignation.X, 172
Giddings, Josh. R., abolitionist leader.....IV, 8, 347
— canvass for L..... IV, 76, 77, 174, 176, 347
— letter to.....VI, 13
— supports Wilmot proviso... V, 77
Gilder, Rich. Watson, "Lincoln as a Writer"....I, ix
Gillam, A. C., Gen.,....X, 176

Gillam, A. C. (*contd.*)
— appointed.....IX, 87
— force of.....X, 269
Gillespie, Jos., letters to.... II, 24, 119, 265, 354, 355; III, 52, 192
— signs Whig circular..I, 166
Gillespie, W. H., letter to.... VI, 108
Gillett, —, refused permission to visit army.....VIII, 272
Gillis, J. P., Com., prepares vessels for sea.....VII, 190
Gillmore, Q. A., Gen., bombards Charleston....IX, 106
— confers with Dahlgren..... IX, 267
— independent service for.... IX, 266, 267
— occupies Fla.....IX, 283
Gilman, Nich., vote on slavery V, 297
Gilmer, John A., L.'s hope of VI, 79, 94
— — anticipated interview with.....VI, 91
Gilmore, —, Dr., witness.... I, 172
Gilmore, —, L.'s plans to be communicated to Greeley by XI, 120
Gilpin, —, Judge.....VIII, 12
"Glen," schooner, award to... IX, 281
Glenn, —, Lt.-Col., negroes forced into army by...XI, 5
Globe Tavern, L. at....I, 268
Glover, S. T., letter to..... VIII, 197
— L.'s friend.....VI, 361
Goddard, —, execution suspended .....IX, 278
Gold, utility of.....X, 264
— mines, discovered....X, 300
Goldsborough, L. M., Adm., at capture of Roanoke Is... VII, 215
— order for removal of vessels countermanded.VII, 215
— telegram to.....VII, 155
— thanks of Congress to..... VII, 105
Gonyeag, Mary, Mother Superior, telegram to..IX, 259
Goodman, Edw., recommended .....VIII, 221
Goodrich, Grant, endorses L.'s fee-bill.....II, 289
Goodrich, John Z., letter to.. XI, 53
Gordon, G. H., telegram to... XI, 78
Gordon, Nath., respite for... VII, 95
Gordon, W. J., letter to..IX, 1
Gortchacow, Prince, correspondence on "Trent" affair ..... VII, 107
Goss, G. G., Rev.....VII, 60
Gosport, Va., seizure of Navy yard at .....VI, 306
See also, Norfolk, Pa.
Government, duty of, to laborer .....I, 307

Government (*contd.*)
— fragments on...II, 182, 186
— perpetuity a fundamental law of.....VI, 173
— policy of.....II, 37
Government, arms, contract for .....VII, 134
— claims, adjusted with Ecuador.....X, 40
— — means provided for adjustment of.....VII, 42
— — transportation of N. Y. Naval brigade.....XI, 131
— departments, disloyalty in.. VII, 101, 192
— funds, effect of L.'s death upon.....X, xxi
Governments, foreign, *see* Foreign Governments.
Governors of various States, telegrams to..... VI, 352; X, 270, 277
— views declared to....VI, 82
Gradual emancipation, appeal for.....VIII, 130
— advantages of..... VIII, 119, 130
— defeat of, in Mo..... V, 334, 354
— — Ky.....II, 279
— favored in D. C....II, 215
— L. favors..... II, 207, 228; VIII, 116, 121; IX, 52; X, 31
— plans for.....II, 252
— protection of Mo. slaveholders after.....VIII, 329
Gradual (*contd.*)
— resolution for....VIII, 117
See also, Emancipation; Emancipation Proclamation.
Granadian Confederacy..... VIII, 189, 190
Grand Gulf, Miss., capture... VIII, 269
Granger, Gordon, Maj.-Gen., thanks to.....X, 212
Granier, E. D., Dr., affidavit in Wright case.....IX, 120
Grant, U. S., Lt.-Gen., address to ....X, 33
— advances on Lee....XI, 68
— aggressiveness of....IX, 26
— appointed Lt.-Gen..... X, 34, 35
— Ark. in control of.VIII, 200
— asked for news of Foote... X, 340
— — to postpone call..XI, 94
— at Burkesville Station.XI, 75
— at City Point..... X, 156; XI, 50, 59, 61, 65, 69, 73
— Banks and lower flotilla to join.....VIII, 200
— "bull-dog grip" telegram... X, 193
— call for troops suggested... X, 167
— captures near Petersburg... XI, 67, 68, 69
— — White Oak road..XI, 65
— "copious fighter but meagre writer".....IX, 45

Grant, U. S. (*contd.*)
— command of departments transferred to Halleck.... X, 176
— Confederate Peace commissioners entertained by.X, 350
— — L.'s message to..X, 355
— conference with Lee..... X, 187; XI, 43
— congratulated.....VIII, 55
— dispatch to Sherman.X, 161
— effect of campaign..X, 164
— election news to.....X, 241
— expedition proposed against Mobile, Ala.....IX, 64
— expels Jews.....VIII, 200
— fighting near Boydton road reported.....XI, 65
— Hampton Roads conference XI, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24
— Hurlbut given command... IX, 51
— invited to dine.....X, 36
— joins Foster.....IX, 286
— Kinney recommended to... X, 241
— Laws refused passage of lines.....X, 355
— letter to, with resolutions and medal.....XI, 47
— — on Rich. T. Jacob.X, 331
— — on Singleton and Hughes XI, 49
— L. publishes telegram of.... XI, 6
— — fears great loss of life.. X, 160

Grant, U. S. (*contd.*)
— — suggests Sheridan's reinforcement.....X, 223
— — visits ..... X, 134, 174, 177, 178; XI, 59, 61
— L.'s confidence in....X, 90
— — fear for security of Shenandoah.....XI, 40
— — — Sheridan.....X, 236
— — — Washington...X, 156
— Lincoln, Robt. T., with.... X, 343
— Loring driven back..... VIII, 281
— Maryland soldiers' vote reported.....X, 263
— Milroy given command.... IX, 266
— moves against Johnston... VIII, 281
— national thanks to...XI, 48
— naval prisoners exchanged X, 238
— N. Y. "Herald" excluded.. VIII, 230
— N. Y. mass meeting for... X, 112
— on North Anna.....X, 107
— Pemberton driven back.... VIII, 281
— Petersburg taken..... XI, 67, 70
— protests against prison recruiting.....X, 228
— Pryor's exchange objected to.....XI, 39

Grant, U. S. (*contd.*)
— Banks' movements. VIII, 290
— reports Richmond evacuated XI, 70
— — Sheridan's success..... XI, 65, 66, 76
— — situation of army. XI, 69
— satisfaction with treatment X, 90
— Seward's accident reported to.....XI, 73
— Sheridan given command of troops in field.....X, 180
— — ordered to press Lee... XI, 77
— Singleton referred to..XI, 5
— telegram to.....IX, 214; X, 40, 126, 129, 140, 155, 156, 160, 206, 354; XI, 41
— thanks of Congress to.... IX, 264
— — for East Tenn. successes IX, 253
— value of services....IX, 26
— Va. troops captured by..... XI, 93
— Wilmington expedition, views on.....X, 327, 328
— Worthington desires to visit X, 206
Gratiott Street Prison. XI, 39
Gratz, Benjamin, telegram to, VIII, 232
"Grave of Lincoln," by Maurice Thompson .....VII, liii
Gray, John P., Dr., in Wright case .....IX, 114, 119
Grayson, P. W., Atty.-Gen., Rep. of Tex., signs treaty... I, 347
Great Britain, Adams, Chas. Francis, proposed minister to .....VI, 223
— African slave-trade suppressed...VIII, 95; IX, 225
— attitude to U. S..... VIII, 195; XI, viii
— correspondence on Sioux Indians.....IX, 299
— expected to respect blockade VI, 281
— explanations of Parliamentary debates.....VI, 278
— grants belligerent rights... IX, xxvi
— Gunpowder plot.....V, 317
— hostile expeditions held.... IX, 224
— Hudson Bay and Puget Sound claims paid..... X, 40, 289
— industrial exhibition..... VII, 49, 66, 72
— intervention desired. VI, 282
— letter to London workingmen.....VIII, 211
— — to Manchester workingmen.....VIII, 194
— L.'s desire to maintain ministry.....XI, 128
— movement to coerce European opinion.....VI, 280
— patron of privateering..... VI, 284

Great Britain (*contd.*)
— relations with United States VI, 284; VIII, xxxii; XI, viii
— sentiment of American people to.....VIII, 196
— slavery forced on Colonies by.....V, 152, 165
— Stellwagen given sword by XI, 9
— surrender of disputed territory to.....VI, 36; IX, 225
— telegraphic communication with U. S.....X, 286
"Great Michigander," Cass so called .....II, 75
"Greatness of Lincoln, The," by Frank S. Black....IV, v
Greeley, Horace, editor N. Y. "Tribune," letter to, concerning Tex. boundary....II, 53
— L. escorted by.....V, 293
— L.'s opinion of.....II, 363
— — plans given to...XI, 120
— — reply to "Prayer of Twenty Millions".....VIII, 15; XI, xii
— opinion of L....V, vi, xxvi
— part in peace proposals.... X, 154, 159
— proposed for U. S. Sen.... VI, 104
— publishes correspondence... X, 182, 184
— telegram to.....X, 183
"Greeley faction," quarrel with .....VII, 125
Green, Duff, Gen., letter to.. II, 118
— L's statement of position to. VI, 88
Greenbacks, issue of VIII, 192
See also, Currency.
Greene, Bowling, appointment .....I, 55
Greenleaf's "Evidence"..... XI, 114
Gregg, Dav. L., signs resolutions .....II, 136
Gregg, John, Maj.-Gen., wounded .....IX, 137
Gregory, Dud. S., appointment .....X, 138
Grider, H., consents to raising regiment .....VI, 295
— petition denied..X, 253, 256
Grimes, J. W., telegram to... IX, 169
Grimes, Wm., letter to..... II, 290, 339
Grimsley, E. J., Mrs., telegram to...VIII, 293; IX, 91
Grimsley, Harrison....II, 50
Grinnell, Moses H., acts for Navy dept.....VII, 191
Grocery-keeper, Lincoln denies having been....III, 230
Grosbeck regiment joins Frémont .....VI, 344
Grow, Galusha A., difficulty with .....VI, 330
— letter to..... VII, 278
— Speaker of House of Reps. VIII, 215

Guerrillas, expelled from Mo. IX, 149
— — Tenn. and Ky..VIII, 64
Guest, John, Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to.....VII, 162
Gunboats, Burnside's dispatch on .....VII, 215
— improvements in during war X, 62
— McClellan supported by.... VII, 248
— needed to remove loyal refugees.....VIII, 170
— on James River....VII, 259
— on the Rappahannock..... VIII, 89
— report on.....X, 62
Gun-carriage, Ellsworth's.... VI, 361
Gunn, Lewis C., appointed collector at Puget Sound... VIII, 273
Guns, capture of.....X, 325
Gunpowder Plot, failure of.. V, 317
Gurney, Eliza P., letter to... X, 215
— reply to.....VIII, 50
Gurley, John A., musters troops .....VI, 292
— letter to.....VI, 344
Guthrie, Jas......VII, 6
— letter to.....VIII, 276

H

Habeas corpus, suspension of V, 258, 271; VII, 8, 87; VIII, 274, 300, 304; IX, 2, 121; X, 147.
— — in case before Judge Leavitt.....VIII, 274
— — — of Major Chase..... VII, 87
— — Constitutional provision for..VI, 310; VIII, 302, 304
— — continued throughout war.....IX, 122
— — executive power....IX, 2
— — in Ky.....X, 147
— — L.'s hesitation on..... VIII, 303
— — in Mo.....VII, 26
— — proclaimed ..... VII, 41; IX, 121; X, 144
— — reasons for indicated.... VI, 309
— — Scott makes in Maryland VI, 295
— Vallandigham's appeal to... VIII, 311
See also, Martial law; Vallandigham, C. L.
Hackett, Jas. H., letter to... IX, 84, 198
Hackleman, —, Gen., death of VIII, 55
Hagerstown, Md., Confederates at.....IX, 18
Haggard, —, Col., misunderstanding about....VIII, 279
— telegram to.....VIII, 282
Hahn, Michael, Gov. of La., Banks confers with..IX, 58
— letter to.....X, 38

Hahn, Michael (*contd.*)
— military power conferred upon.....X, 43
Haldeman, Jac. S., proposed minister to Sweden and Norway .....VI, 191
Hale, John P., supporter of Lincoln .....IV, 76, 176
— telegram to.....VIII, 296
Hale, J. T., letter to...VI, 93
Haley, Jas., deserter..IX, 188
Hall, B. F......IV, 50
Hall, Curtis H......VII, 131
Hall, W. A., U. S. Rep. from Mo., complaint of....X, 311
— views on compensated emancipation.....VII, 126
Halleck, Henry Wager, Maj.-Gen., advises Burnside VIII, 165, 180
— antagonism to Hooker..... VIII, 206, 320
— asked for infantry.VII, 260
— at St. Louis.....VII, 76
— at Tuscumbia.....VII, 276
— Buell to act in concert with VII, 71, 84
— cannot reinforce McClellan VII, 257
— conference with Burnside reported to.....VIII, 88
— Corinth in hands of..... VII, 208, 212
— departments commanded by VII, 130, 214; X, 176
— desires to remove Grant.... IX, 26
Halleck, H. W. (*contd.*)
— East Tenn., relief attempted IX, 64
— Gettysburg, urged to pursue advantage of victory at.... IX, 18
— ignorant of Buell's intended operations in Mo...VII, 77
— instructions on commercial intercourse.....VII, 119
— — guerilla warfare.IX, 297
— introduces Koerner.VII, 85
— — Sprague.....VII, 261
— Johnson confers with on Ky. raid.....VII, 268, 269
— letter of, to Buell on East Tenn.....VIII, 63
— — Burnside on movement across Rappahanock..... VIII, 179
— — Grant.....VIII, 200
— letter to VII, 71, 85, 105, 139, 228, 261, 277; VIII, 165, 176, 179, 200; IX, 128, 131, 171, 180
— — on Barrett, Col. Jas. A.. VII, 139
— — East Tenn. expedition.. VII, 228
— — Fort Donelson..VII, 105
— — Lawrence outrage..... IX, 107
— — Lee's movements..... IX, 171, 180
— — reserve cavalry corps... VIII, 176
— — Rosecrans.....IX, 131

Halleck, H. W. (*contd.*)
— — suggested feint against Columbus.....VII, 71
— levies contributions.IX, 158
— Magoffin's confinement mitigated.....VII, 144
— McClellan informs, army cannot subsist at Winchester.....VIII, 57
— — instructed by...VIII, 53
— made General-in-Chief..... VII, 266
— Meade ordered not to engage Lee.....IX, 46
— — urged to attack Lee.... IX, 22
— ordered to forward troops.. VII, 238
— ordered to Washington.... VII, 277
— opinion of parole..VIII, 53
— organizes army....VIII, 20
— Pope ordered not to cross into British territory..... VIII, 244
— Price operates against in Mo.....VII, 108
— rejects plan for entering Richmond.....VIII, 88, 89
— resignation.....VIII, 166
— Schenck's advice on Milroy IX, 12
— suspends writ of habeas corpus.....VII, 26
— telegram to..... VII, 68, 70, 139, 149, 153, 179, 238, 247, 268, 269, 275
Halleck, H. W. (*contd.*)
— — on Chattanooga expedition.....VII, 247
— — Gen. Denver..... VII, 137, 139
— — requests for reinforcements.....VII, 179
— — report of battle at Pittsburg Landing.....VII, 149
— — Schoefield's command of Dept. of Mo.....VII, 153
— — "stampede" in Ky..... VII, 275
Hamburg exposition, report of .....IX, 291
Hamilton, —, Gen., petition of VII, 174
— relieved from command.... VII, 157
— reports.....VII, 199
Hamilton, Alex., Sec. of the Treas., opinion on U. S. Bank .....II, 60
— opposed to slavery...V, 304
— stature of.....III, v
Hamilton, A. J., authorized to transport .....X, 186
— telegram to.....IX, 89
Hamlin, Hannibal, Vice-Pres. of the U. S., asked about troops .....VI, 265
— candidacy of, for Vice-President .....VI, 13
— letter to..... VI, 44, 55, 68, 72, 75, 86
— — on emancipation proclamation.....VIII, 50

Hamlin, Hannibal (*contd.*)
— — on organization of House.....IX, 190
— telegram to.....IX, 117
Hammond, —, office for..... XI, 32
Hammond, Hen., appointed VIII, 9
Hammond, Jas. Hen., on slavery .....V, 335
Hampton Roads, naval engagement .....VIII, 138
Hampton Roads Conference, Confederate Peace commissioners at ..... XI, 16, 18, 22, 26, 27, 30
— futility of.....XI, 28, 32
— held on "River Queen".... XI, 30
— informal nature of..... XI, 28
— L. arrives at.....XI, 24
— proposals at.....XI, 19, 30
— report of.....XI, 10
Hancock County, Ill...IV, 68
— death of Mordecai Lincoln.. II, 181
— descendants of Mordecai Lincoln.....VI, 25
— Lincoln family.....II, 14
— settlement of Josiah Lincoln VI, 25
— — Mordecai Lincoln.VI, 25
Hancock, Winfield Scott, Gen., telegram to....XI, 60
Hand Bill, in "Sangamon Journal" .....I, 57
Hanks family in Ill.....V, 286
— in Va.....VI, 26
Hanks, John, proposed trip.. VI, 29
— "rail enterprise" of..VI, 30
— recollections of L....I, xiv
— returns from St. Louis.... VI, 30
— second cousin of L..VI, 31
Hanks, Nancy, marriage of.. VI, 25
— mother of L.....VI, 21
— relatives of, in Ia....VI, 26
Hanover, treaty with.VII, 100
Hanover Court House, Branch driven from..... VII, 195
— Federals raid.....VIII, 263
Hanscomb, —, detective X, 18
Hanson, Dan., arrested..... IX, 170
Harbors, improvement of..... II, 33
Hardie, —, Col., prayers for Lincoln .....XI, 92
Hardiman, B., signs treaty... I, 347
Hardin County, Ky., Lincoln's birth-place ..... V, 286; VI, 24; VIII, xviii
— Lincoln family in.VI, 22, 24
Hardin, J. J., Brig.-Maj., defeats Lincoln .....I, 262
— letters to...I, 266, 270, 271
— order for arms.....I, 9
— service in Mexican war.... II, 85

Hardin, J. J. (*contd.*)
— signs Whig circular..I, 166
— understanding with..VI, 37
— withdraws.....I, 293
Harmon's "sandal sock".X, 140
Harney, W. S., Gen., checks Mo. outrages.....VI, 288
— relieved from command.... VI, 275
Harper's Ferry, Md., communication lost...VIII, 316
— Confederates capture..... X, 142
— enemy pushing on to..... VII, 176
— executions suspended..... XI, 37
— guns sent to.....VII, 185
— Hunter at.....X, 161
— Kelley at.....VIII, 317
— Lee returns toward..... VIII, 321
— military line from.VI, 333
— Milroy brought from..... VIII, 316
— Republicans not in raid at V, 358
— Saxton at.....VII, 206
— seizure of arsenal at..... VI, 306
— troops arrive at...VIII, 317
"Harper's' Magazine" Douglas in.....V, 150, 164, 264
Harrell, Abram D., thanks of Congress to.....VII, 162
"Harriett Lane," vessel, sailing orders.....VI, 226
Harris, A., case of.....X, 214
Harris, Isham G., question of, for gov.....IX, 116
Harris Thos. L, Maj., candidate..IV, 171, 278, 279, 336
— Douglas endorses..IV, 338
— quotes "Black Republican" resolutions.....III, 307
Harris, Townsend, minister to Japan.....VI, 336
Harrisburg, Pa., address at.. VI, 162
— invitation to visit..VI, 109
— question of calling out militia at .....VIII, 261
— reply at.....VI, 160
Harrison County, Ind., Lincoln family in.....II, 14
— residence of Josiah Lincoln II, 181
Harrison, Jas., protection for X, 324
Harrison, Napoleon B., Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to .....VII, 162
Harrison, Wm. Hen., Gen., Pres. candidacy in Ill., I, 147
— death of.....I, 257
— election as Pres.....II, 293
— "Life" of.....I, 146
— L. on electoral ticket of.... VI, 34
— nomination popular..I, 147
Harrisonburg, Va., Frémont near..VII, 214, 218, 225, 227
— Jackson at.....VII, 179
Harrison's Landing, Va., Lin-

coln interviews Franklin at VII, 265
— — Heintzelman at. VII, 263
— — visits.....VII, 262
Harrow, Wm., Gen., leave for .....IX, 276
Hart, —, in Fisher murder case .....I, 174
Hart, Chas. Hen.....XI, 142
Hartford, Conn., collectorship at.....VIII, 221
— L.'s speech at.....V, 329
Harvey, Alex. W..... VI, 5, 59, 61
Harvey, J. E., minister, VI, 61
Haskell, —, Col., on Mexican war .....I, 353; II, 86
Haskin, John B., U. S. Rep. from N. Y., support of.... V, 117
Hassaurek, F., interview.... VI, 191
Hatch, O. M., letters to..... VIII, 286; IX, 119
— telegram to.....IX, 133
Hatcher's Run, Va.,..XI, 68
Haupt, —, Col., telegram to.. VIII, 18
Havana, Cuba, U. S. award in case of "Jules et Marie" and "San Jacinto," VIII, 132
Hawaii, address to envoy from XI, 132
Hawkes, —, Dr., case of,.... X, 97
Hawkes, Chas. K., appointment of.....IX, 298
Hawkes, Chas. K. (*contd.*)
— plan of, to secure cotton... IX, 280
Hawley, Eliphalet, letter to VIII, 286
Hay, John, Maj., administers oath ..... XI, 129
— carries dispatches..... VIII, 168; X, 159
— commissioned.....IX, 283
— indorsement on letter to... X, 113, 114
— letter to Campbell. VIII, 319
— — Willing.....X, 173
— Nicolay's letter to...X, 113
— telegram to.....X, 159
Haycraft, Sam, letter to..... VI, 21, 39, 51, 52, 69
Hayes, J. S., Comptroller.... IX, 105
Hayner, —, Maj., report.... IX, 111, 124
Hayti, colonization in, VIII, 97
— policy on.....VII, 33
— relations with.....X, 285
— slave revolution in..V, 317
Hazel, Cal., school of, attended by L.,.....VI, 26
Haywood, —, complaint against.....X, 311
Heddon and Hoey, contract of .....VII, 134
Heintzelman, S. P., Gen., commands Third corps.... VII, 116
— memorandum of questions and answers.....VII, 263

Heintzelman, S. P. (*contd.*)
— watches Vallandigham..... X, 132
— wishes Stahl assigned..... VIII, 226
Helena, Ark., oath administered .....IX, 277
Helm, Ben, first clerk, VI, 22
Helm, Ben. Hardin, Brig.-Gen., Confederate officer... IX, 256
— killed at Chickamauga..... IX, 137
— L.'s relations with...VI, 39
Helm, Ben Hardin, Mrs..... IX, 169, 255
Hempster, C. T., appointment for son of.....VI, 190
Henderson, —, case of, X, 135
Henderson, J. T., letter to.. II, 263, 268
Henderson, John B., Sen., objects to Pope....IX, 267
— participates in Schofield's relief.....IX, 264
Henning, Fanny, L.'s opinion of .....I, 180
Henry, A. G., Dr., appointment .....I, 242
— letters to..V, 94; VI, 42, 57
— signs call for Whig State convention.....I, 181
— — invitation to Clay to visit Illinois .....I, 232
— — Whig circular....I, 145
— supports L.....XI, 99
— telegram to.....VIII, 272
Henry, Alex., telegram to.... VIII, 27
Henry IV, of France, Lincoln likened to.....IX, lii
Henry, Ill., Lincoln's speech at IV, 68
Henry, John, Douglas supporter .....IV, 192
Henry, Pat., quoted..VIII, 78
— view on slavery....VIII, ix
Herara, J. J. de, overthrow of .....II, 24
Hermitage, Lion of Jackson so called .....II, 73
Herndon, Row, letter to, I, 95
Herndon, "Uncle Billy," death .....I, 187
Herndon, Wm. H...... III, 3; VIII, 217
— character.....II, 57
— indiscretion of.....V, 290
— L.'s partner.....II, 57
— letters to..... I, 316, 325, 350, 351, 354; II, 1, 49, 56; VI, 62; VII, 94
Herpert, Wilton M., officer.. VIII, 331
Herran, Pedro Alcantara, Gen., minister from New Granada .....VIII, 189
Herrington, A. M......IV, 50
Herron, F. J., refuses to serve VIII, 277
— resignation.....VIII, 278
Hewett, Josephus.....I, 355
Hicklin and Spratt, proceedings against.....X, 332

Hickman, John, and "irrepressible conflict"....V, 214
— antislavery zeal.....V, 155
— L. asks cheers for...V, 155
— Republican support of..... V, 117
Hicks, —, Lincoln's autobiographical sketch to..VI, 40
Hicks, G. Montague, endorsement on letter of..VII, 175
Hicks, Thos. S., gov. of Md., consulted .....VI, 252
— plan of arbitration proposed by.....VI, 253
— reply to.....VI, 251
"Highlander," vessel, watch to master of.....X, 18
Hill, J. G., witness to epigram III, 349
Hillhouse, Thos., appointment of.....X, 138
Hilton, Ala., captured..X, 259
Hilton Head, S. C., salute at X, 214
Hise, John.....IV, 50
"History of Illinois," Ford's IV, 190
Hodgenville, Ky., Lincoln family at.....VI, 22
Hodges, A. G., consultation with .....X, 276
— discharge of Price referred to.....X, 256
— letter to, on slavery..X, 65
— — on emancipation..X, 65
Hoffman, Hen. W., anxiety of .....X, 239
Hoffman, H. W. (*contd.*)
— vote reported to.....X, 262
Hoffman, Ogden, letter to... IX, 258
Hogeboom, Judge, general appraiser .....X, 139
Holbrook, Fred, gov. of Vt., requests Lincoln to call for volunteers .....VII, 249
Holcomb, Jas. B., Peace Commissioner .....X, 160
Hollander, —, arrested..... VIII, 312
Hollister, F. Dav., tax commissioner.....VIII, 9
Holman, —, ...IX, 124
Holmes, Wm. J., affidavit in Wright case.....IX, 120
Holt, Jos., Sec. of War, candidate for Vice-Pres., X, 115
— letter to.....VI, 354
— transmits documents.VI, 188
Homer, —, doorkeeper, I, 316
Homestead law....VIII, 106
— enactment of.....IX, 242
— operation of.....IX, 242
See also, Public Lands.
Honesty of Lincoln, VIII, xliv
Honor, political, of Lincoln.. I, 326
Hood, John B., Gen., assistance of hundred-day troops to defeat.....X, 237
— Davis visits.....X, 235
— reported wounded...IX, 137
Hooker, Jos., Gen., advice to VIII, 297

Hooker, Jos. (*contd.*)
— antagonism to Halleck..... VIII, 320
— asks command of regiment VI, 293
— commands Army of Potomac.....VIII, 204, 206
— — Porter's corps..VIII, 73
— Dahlgren carries dispatches to.....VIII, 320
— desires presence of Marchant.....VIII, 218
— early movement of, not desirable.....VIII, 275
— — of, suggested..VIII, 264
— at Fairfax Station..... VIII, 317
— Geary's part in night fight of.....IX, 194
— indorses plan.....VIII, 243
— informed of capture of Grand Gulf.....VIII, 269
— — of news in Richmond papers.....VIII, 263, 264
— inquiry to.....VIII, 284
— letters to.....VII, xxxvi; VIII, 264, 275, 320
— L. suggests breaking Lee's line.....VIII, 315
— — proposes visit to..... VIII, 243
— L.'s opinion of...VIII, 206
— Meade proposed for command under.....IX, 44
— Moore assigned to.VIII, 292
— order in Humphrey case... X, 338
Hooker, Jos. (*contd.*)
— promotion of...VII, xxxvii
— relations with Slocum..... IX, 142
— reply to.....VIII, 245
— reported in retreat..... VIII, 263
— resignation of....VIII, 320
— telegrams to..... VIII, 218, 243, 145, 249, 261, 263, 264, 265, 269, 273, 292, 314, 315, 324, 328, 331, 333
— under orders to Halleck.... VIII, 323
Hope, —, Dr., question answered.....VI, 23
Hopkins, Hen., Rev..VII, 60
Horse race, Lincoln's participation in .....III, 210
Horsman, J......IV, 51
Hospitals, chaplains for..... VII, 8, 36, 60
Hough, Lotty, Mrs., recommendation of.....X, 238
Hough, R. M., Col., letter to XI, 54
Houk, Dav. A., letter to, IX, 1
"House divided".....III, 2
House of Representatives, U. S., asked to postpone adjournment .....VII, 278
— bill to abolish slavery in D. of C.....II, 96
— Cameron censured.VII, 193
— certificates of election to... IX, 192
— effort to prohibit slavery in

acquired Mexican territory IV, 293
— first Northern majority in.. V, 28
— Homer doorkeeper in.I, 316
— Ill. land grants.....II, 21
— interrogatories in....I, 338
— Lecompton constitution defeated.....III, 29
— L. elected to..... I, 298; V, 288; VI, 34
— — vetoes bill on internal revenue act.....X, 330
— L.'s speech on admission of Wis.....II, 18
— — — internal improvements.....II, 28
— — — Mexican War.I, 327
— — — proposed land grants II, 101
— — — Judiciary committee's report.....II, 12
— — — Military committee's report.....II, 12
— — — salary of Judge of Western Va.....II, 55
— — — on Taylor and veto power.....II, 59
— — vote on Mexican war... V, 75
— McCormick doorkeeper.I, 316
— message to..... VI, 326, 334, 335, 337; VII, 61, 62, 67, 140, 146, 175, 176, 217, 219, 227, 274; VIII, 173, 212, 215; X, 10, 26, 87, 91, 330, 334

House Represent's (*contd.*)
— — to, on action of Gov. Stanton.....VII, 212
— — affairs in Mexico..... VII, 62, 146, 176; VIII, 212
— — Asiatic coolie trade..... VII, 67
— — Baltimore police commissioners.....VI, 335
— — blockade rights..VII, 61
— — Circuit Court of U. S. for Cal.....VII, 217
— — foreign commerce..... VII, 61
— — foreign relations..... VII, 274
— — Indian outbreak.VIII, 215
— — memorial from N. Y. State.....VII, 219
— — organization of army medical department..... VII, 227
— — outrage to Faris-el-Hakim.....VII, 175
— — Pike's dispatch from the Hague.....VII, 140
— — relations with New Granada.....VIII, 188
— — report of Committee on Post-Office and Post-Roads I, 348; II, 4
— — interview with Confederate Peace Commissioners.. XI, 10
— resolutions in.....I, 318
— Sargent made Sergeant-at-Arms.....I, 316

House Represent's (*contd.*)
— Thirteenth amendment passed.....X, 352
— treason in.....VII, 101
— Whig caucus in.....II, 49
— Winthrop nominated Speaker.....I, 316
Houston, John B., deported X, 265
— discharged.....X, 266
Hovey, Chas., Brig.-Gen., appointment .....IX, 40
— Humphrey's sentence modified by.....X, 338
— Sherman complains of appointment of.....X, 174
Howard, —, agent.....VI, 40
Howard, Jos., released, X, 201
Howard, Mark, refused collectorship .....VIII, 221
Howard, O. O., letter to, on battle of Gettysburg..IX, 39
— reinforces Rosecrans..... IX, 142
— with Sherman.....X, 325
Hoyne, Thos.....IV, 50
Hoyt, Chas., letter to..... II, 146, 262
Hoyt, Mark, telegram to.... XI, 6
Hubbard, G. S., letter to... V, 283
Hudgin, Moses, affidavit of.. IX, 119
"**Hudson,**" news from..IX, 73
Hudson's Bay Company, claims adjusted..X, 40, 289
Hudson, N. Y., address at.... VI, 144
Hughes, Archbishop, letter to VII, 8
Hughes, —, Judge, in Richmond .....XI, 49
Huidekoper, H. C., Col. enlists Confederate prisoners X, 210
Human nature, unchanging.. X, 263
Humanity, common right of.. V, 65
— duty toward negro..III, 218
Humor of Lincoln.....I, xxiii VII, xvii; IX xlii; 119
Humphreys, And., sentence modified .....X, 339
— reports fight.....XI, 76
"**Hunchback,**" position of.... VII, 215
Hundred-day troops, thanks to .....X, 237
Hungary, freedom of, II, 127
Hunkerism .....VIII, 171
Hunt, —, Belgian consul, seizure of papers of....X, 124
Hunt, —, Mrs., property restored to.....X, 73
Hunt, Randall, Cabinet possibility .....VI, 94
Hunt, Ward, letter to..X, 193
Hunter, Dav., Gen., answer to "ugly letter" of....VII, 68
— command merged..VII, 130
— commands Burnside's division.....VIII, 72

Hunter, Dav. (*contd.*)
— — negro force....VIII, 239
— co-operates with Wright... X, 157, 161
— deports Frederick citizens.. X, 179
— letters to..... VI, 65, 86; VII, 97; VIII, 239, 260; IX, 14
— misunderstands orders..... X, 161
— order of military emancipation revoked.VII, 167, 273
— ordered to relieve Frémont VII, 10
— orders to, on operations about Charleston.VIII, 248
— proclaims martial law in Fla., Ga. and S. Car.VII, 170
— reinforces McClellan..... VII, 257, 259
— requests service with Frémont.....VI, 352
— Schaadt reports to..... VIII, 259, 260
— telegrams to..... X, 170, 175, 178
Hunter, R. M. T., Confederate Peace Commissioner.... X, 348, 349
— at Hampton Roads Conference ..... XI, 16, 18, 22, 26, 27, 30
— Seward ordered to meet... X, 351
See also, Confederate Peace Commissioners.
Hurlbut, S. A., Gen., asked to reconsider resignation,..... IX, 51
— assigned command by Grant IX, 51
— court of inquiry for..X, 91
— esteem held in.....IX, 51
— letter to..... II, 58, 364; VI, 65
— opposition, to new State government in La..X, 267
— receives news of Grant.... VIII, 281
— suspends execution of Luckett.....IX, 263
— telegrams to..VIII, 232, 281
Hurd et al., against Rock Island Bridge Co.....II, 340
Hunt, —, Democratic partizan II, 112
Hutchins, W. A., letter to.. IX, 1

I

Idaho, resources of...IX, 230
Ide, —, Rev. Dr., letter to... X, 109
Idleness a pensioner....I, 307
Illinois, address to..I, 242, 243
— admission of.....V, 224
— appointment of U. S. Marshal for.....II, 106
— apportionment of offices.... IV, 15
— attempt to abolitionize old parties in.....IV, 6
— bitterness of L. and Douglas debate in.....III, 153

Illinois (*contd.*)
— "Black Republican" convention.....III, 306
— Butterfield appointed.II, 119
— circular of Whig State convention.....I, 142
— claims on public land sales IX, 91
— Clay invited to visit..I, 231
— compact with Trumbull.... IV, 35
— condition of Whig party in I, 256
— constitutional convention of 1847.....V, 76
— "deep snow" in.....VI, 29
— Democratic differences in.. III, 198
— — Congressional convention, 1850.....IV, 47
— — District convention, Naperville, 1850.....IV, 50
— — platform of 1851..... III, 117
— — State convention, 1858.. IV, 42
— District conventions in..... I, 255
— distinguished sons in Mexican war.....II, 85
— doubtful for Taylor..II, 27
— Douglas campaign scheme in.....VI, 52
— — elected U. S. Senator... V, 277
— — speaks in..... II, 315; III, 19, 54, 108, 200, 258, 293; IV, 1, 71, 142, 237, 297, 335; V, 1, 72
— elections of 1842.I, 253, 254
— English bill a political test in.....IV, 242
— formation of.....II, 193
— Frémont campaign in..... II, 292
— French settlements in..... V, 224
— Ewing, W. L. D., Sen. from I, 252
— growth of.....II, 341
— hundred-day troops of..... X, 237
— immigration of freedmen prohibited.....III, 149, 216
— importance of securing Rep. Nat. Conv. for.....V, 283
— inquiries for regiments and arms in.....VIII, 36
— interest in Federal appointments.....II, 105
— — Land Office appointment II, 114
— — repeal of Mo. Comp.... II, 190
— Lincoln family in..... II, 14, 181; V, 288
— — removes to.....VI, 28
— L. "first, last and only choice".....IV, 16, 174
— — moves to.....VIII, xix
— — opposed by "silk-stocking Whiggery".....V, 95
— — re-nominated for President by.....X, 117

Illinois (*contd.*)
— — supported at Baltimore by.....X, 114
— — — "plain people"..V, 95
— L.'s candidacy for Sen..... III, 1
— — canvass for Taylor..... VI, 37
— — desire to secure delegates to Rep. Nat. Conv. of 1860.....V, 291
— — opinion on election law II, 177
— — speeches in, *see* under names of various places in which they were delivered.
— McCallister and Stebbins bonds, Freeman's connection with.....VIII, 139
— — L.'s opposition to payment of.....V, 133
— militia offered by.....X, 82
— miscegenation illegal in.... IV, 91
— negro not a citizen of.V, 27
— — status of, in..... III, 218; X, 267
— N. Y. "Tribune" in.II, 363
— office holders threatened in IV, 246
— opposition to Nebraska bill in.....III, 337
— political warfare in..I, 253
— position of, on "popular sovereignty"....III, 63, 115
— Presidential election in, 1864.....X, 306, 307
Illinois (*contd.*)
— Rep. party, importance of State to, 1860.....V, 257
— — organized in..... III, 273; XI, 103
— — platform, 1854.....IV, 7
— — — 1856.....III, 337
— — prospects for, 1860..... V, 234
— — to be kept intact in.... V, 92
— — vote of, in 1856...V, 92
— Rep. State Cent. committee asks L. to serve....II, 264
— Rep. State convention, 1854 III, 279
— — 1857.....IV, 16
— — 1858.....IV, 43
— Republicans for Douglas in II, 363
— resolutions in Circuit and District Court of, on death of Judge Nath. Pope.II, 135
— Reynolds governor of.I, 252
— Scott campaign a failure in VI, 37
— slavery decreased in.V, 225
— — feeling toward in.II, 91
— — prohibited in.....IV, 25
— — tried in.....V, 27
— — unsuited to.....IV, 369
— slaves imported into..... III, 141
— — not freed by residence in V, 32
— Supreme Court packed..... IV, 222

Illinois (*contd.*)
— territorial history of..... III, 141
— Thirteenth amendment ratified by.....X, 353
— Trumbull's attempt to abolitionize Democratic party of IV, 171
— Whig call for convention in II, 154
— — caucus on Clay...V, 76
— — defeats in.....I, 253
— — district conventions..... I, 260
— Whig party of, abolitionized IV, 171
— — dissolves in.....III, 204
— — plans to organize in.... I, 143
— — platform of 1851..... III, 117
— — recommendations to..... I, 240
— Whig senators defeated, 1842.....I, 254
— — State Cent. Com. appointed.....I, 242
— — victory of 1840....I, 256
— Whigs bargain for U. S. Sen.....IV, 15
— — demand election of L... IV, 15
— Young, —, Judge, Sen. from I, 252
See also, Sangamon County.

Illinois legislature, carried by Abolitionists....IV, 170

Illinois legislature (*contd.*)
— Comp. of 1850 approved... IV, 166
— — endorsed by.....II, 203
— extract of L.'s protests in.. I, 166
— disapproves of Abolition societies.....I, 51
— inaction of.....I, 17
— L. and Douglas in..III, 210
— L. a member of..... II, 269; III, 209; V, 288; VIII, xx
— L.'s campaign for....VI, 31
— — defeat for Speaker of... VI, 34
— — election to.....VI, 32
— — protest in.....VI, 33
— — re-elections to....VI, 33
— — refusal of re-election to VI, 34
— — remarks in..... I, 92, 153, 154, 156
— — resolution in.....I, 152
— — speech before.....I, 19
— Linder's speech in...II, 132
— Lovejoy's preamble and resolutions.....III, 321
— Neb. bill approved..II, 286
— plan to run Douglas Republicans for.....III, 199
— "popular sovereignty" approved.....III, 204
— refusal to make fair apportionment for Whigs.III, 156
— repeals Wilmot proviso instructions.....III, 117

Illinois legislature (*contd.*)
— vote of L.'s own precinct in race for.....VI, 31
Illinois and Michigan canal, benefits of.....II, 35
— continuance of.....I, 157
— enlargement of....VIII, 109
— L.'s vote on.....II, 270
Illinois Central R R. Co., L.'s bill to.....II, 288
— suit for taxes.....II, 179
Illinois State Bank, charter of .....I, 21, 22, 33
— commissioners for.....I, 30
— connection of.....I, 24
— constitutionality of....I, 21
— L.'s speech on.....I, 19
— proposal to revise charter of I, 21
— secrecy of employes...I, 25
— stockholders quarrel...I, 23
— suspension of specie payments by.....I, 28
— usury charged of.....I, 27
See also, National Banks; State Banks; U. S. Bank.
Illinois Supreme Court, decision on power of Gov. to remove Sec. of State..... III, 254
— election laws decision.V, 86
— L. practises in.....XI, 98
— packing of.....IV, 222
— proposed re-organization of I, 161
— prostitution of to political ends .....IV, 377
Illinois "State Journal" Cabinet article in.....II, 100
— L.'s editorial in.....VI, 78
— — speech in.....III, 188
Illinois "State Register".... II, 50, 360; III, 308; IV, 278
— Douglas organ.....IV, 281
— opposes Lecompton constitution.....IV, 225
Imboden, John D., Brig.-Gen., retreats.....IX, 180
Immigration, act to encourage .....IX, 291; X, 290
— advantages of.....X, 291
Imposts, *see* Tariff.
Improvements, Internal, *see* Internal Improvements.
Inaugural address, First.... VI, 169
— — care given to....XI, 118
— — conditions at time of... VI, 169
— Second.....XI, 44
Inaugural addresses, style of I, xxvi
Indemnity, French, payment of .....I, 131
— recommended to owners of "Jules et Marie"..VIII, 132
Independence, how lost..... XI, 110
— love of liberty bulwark of.. XI, 110
— war in defense of...VI, 284
Independence, Declaration of, *see* Declaration of Independence.

Independence Hall, address in ....VI, 156; VIII, xxiii
— — on raising a flag over.. VI, 159, 163
— — first entrance into..... VI, 163
— L.'s speech in.....XI, x
— reply to Mayor of Philadelphia in.....VI, 155
Indian massacre in Minn.... VIII, 140
— reserves, treason in.VII, 101
— system, necessity of remodeling ..... VIII, 108; IX, 243
— — Congress remodels..... X, 300
— tribes subordinate.VIII, 107
— — outbreak of, in Northwest.....VIII, 215
Indian affairs, Department of, *see* Department of Indian affairs.
— government hindered in administering.....VII, 46
Indian Territory, Confederate control of.....VII, 46
— rebellion in.....VIII, 107
Indiana, Clay, C. M., canvasses for L. in.....VI, 44
— — Henry, petitioned to liberate slaves on visit to..... IV, 382; V, 39
— County elections, 1863..... IX, 169
— Douglas' campaign scheme in.....VI, 52
Indiana (*contd.*)
— elections of 1864....X, 241
— Hundred-day troops of.... X, 237
— L.'s campaign work for Clay in.....I, 290
— — early life in.....IV, 81
— — poetry of early life in.. I, 291
— — removal to.....VI, 27
— Lincoln family in..... II, 14, 181; V, 287
— — removes from....VI, 28
— petitions Congress to hold slaves.....V, 170, 223
— political importance of, in 1860.....VI, 47
— — in 1864.....X, 226
— regiment, address to.XI, 55
— regiments ordered to be received.....XI, 120
— troops offered to government.....X, 82
— invitation to visit....VI, 99
Indiana legislature, address to.....VI, 113
Indianapolis, Ind., address at VI, 111
— invitation to visit...VI, 100
Indians, Cherokee, loyalty of VIII, 44
— cost of removing, 1838.... I, 130
— disbursements for, 1863.... X, 292
— killing of L.'s grand-father by.....VI, 25

Indians (*contd.*)
— outbreak of.....VIII, 108
— possessory rights of.IX, 243
— proclamation concerning... X, 57
— removal of west of Mississippi .....IX, 243
— sentence of.....VIII, 73, 92
— Sioux attack Minn. settlements.....VIII, 107, 133
— — executed.....VIII, 134
— — pursuit of, into Hudson's Bay territory.....IX, 299
— — record of trial of..... VIII, 140
— supply of arms to, prohibited.....XI, 57
— wish protection of Federal troops.....VII, 46
Industrial interests of United States, represented in Great Britain .....VII, 49
"Influence of Lincoln, The," by R. G. Ingersoll...VII, v
Ingalls, Rufus, Col., dispatch from .....VII, 244
— telegrams to.....VIII, 264
Institutions, perpetuity of... II, 235
Insurgents claim Northern support .....VII, 52
Insurrection, consequences of VII, 41
— depressing influences of.... VII, 44
— existence of, declared..... VII, 51
Insurrection (*contd.*)
— policy for suppression of.. VII, 51
— slave, impossibility of..... V, 316
— Southampton, 1832..V, 316
— war on people.....VII, 56
Insurrectionary States, purchase of products of, X, 230
Intelligence, general, plea for I, 50
Intemperance, in the army.. IX, 144
— in early settlements..I, 199
— evils of.....IX, 145
— L. charged with....III, 209
— L.'s tolerance of..... I, 193, 201
See also Temperance.
Interest on State debt, I, 154
Interior, Dept. of, *see* Department of the Interior.
Internal improvements, appropriations for...II, 33, 39
— Cass party opposed to.II, 66
— Cass' position on.....II, 67
— compared to protection of commerce on high seas.... II, 34
— Congressional grants for... II, 20, 22, 101
— constitutionality of...II, 38
— cost of, under J. Q. Adams II, 33
— Democratic theory of.II, 29
— interest of government in.. II, 22

Jefferson, Thos. (*contd.*)
— Northwest Territory, author of ordinance for government of.....V, 167
— on judicial authority.....III, 179
— owns slaves.....IV, 255
— position on internal improvements.....II, 38
— — National bank.....II, 60
— principles of, axioms of free society.....V, 126
— slavery, opinion on.....II, 195; IV, 264; V, 318, 358; VIII, x
— — recognizes danger in...V, 159
— veto power, interpretation of II, 61
— view on admission of Mo..II, 169
— — public improvements....II, 38
Jews, expulsion of...VIII, 200
Johnson, —, State Sen. of Ky., letter to.....VI, 266
Johnson, And., gov. of Tenn., advice to, on State government ....IX, 116, 127; X, 8
— asked to suggest successor..X, 340
— concerned about Schurz...X, 176
— confers with Halleck.....VII, 268
— information about Lincoln family in Tenn.....II, 182
Johnson, And. (*contd.*)
— letters to.....VIII, 137; IX, 126
— opinion on operations about Murfreesboro .....VIII, 183, 185
— proclaims election.....X, 21, 248
— proposes to raise negro troops.....VIII, 233
— reports on emancipation ordinance.....X, 341
— requests return of troops..VIII, 76
— request to send Getty to Burnside.....VIII, 285
— telegram on Gillam.X, 179
— — Heiskell.....X, 179
— telegrams to.....VII, 150, 212, 215; VIII, 71, 183; IX, 87, 113, 165, 186; X, 62, 105, 278
— time to reach Washington..X, 345
Johnson, Bradish, letter to...VIII, 327
Johnson, Herschel V., for Vice-Pres. .....VI, 12
Johnson, John O., assistance for .....XI, 103
— Republican organizer.....XI, 103
Johnson, Reverdy, letter to..VI, 254
— — on feeling in Louisiana..VII, 292
— report of.....VIII, 151

Johnson, Rich. M., advocate of negro equality....IV, 90
Johnson, Wm. S., vote of against slavery .....V, 297
Johnson's Island, O., parole for Stephens at.....X, 356
— prisoners released at.X, 279
Johnsonville, Tenn., gunboat destroyed at .....X, 259
Johnston, —, letter to..... I, 289, 294, 298
Johnston, John D., letters to II, 135, 144, 147, 149, 150, 152
— letters to, literary style of.. I, xviii
— proposed flatboat trip of... VI, 29
— returns to family from St. Louis .....VI, 31
Johnston, Jos. E., Gen., defeat of .....X, 237
— news from.....VIII, 281
— treason of.....VIII, 305
Johnston, Sally Bush, marriage of .....VI, 27
— step-mother of Pres..VI, 21
Johnston, W. H., threatens Vicksburg .....IX, 66
Joint Debates, *see* Debates with Douglas.
Joliet, Ill., Dem. Cong. convention, 1850.....IV, 47
— Douglas' speech at..IV, 66
Jonas, A., letter to.....VI, 45
Jones, Alb.,.....IX, 125
Jones, Thos. D., recommended XI, 47
Jones, Wm., Sir., quotation from .....IX, xxix
Jonesboro, Ill., debate at.... IV, 1, 71
Jordan, Warren, letter of.... X, 17
— telegram to.....X, 17
"Journal," Sangamon, *see* Sangamon Journal.
Judd, —, ...II, 275, 290
Judd, Frank R., execution suspended.....X, 329
Judd, Norman B., arranges joint debates with Douglas. III, 189
— confidence of L. in..V, 284
— endorses L.'s bill....II, 289
— letters to..... V, 91, 93, 281, 282, 290, 291
Judgment, against Thos. Lincoln .....II, 96
Judicial authority, loyalty to.. III, 178
— system, reorganization of, in Ill.....I, 160; VII, 38
Judiciary, decisions of, final.. IV, 85
— provisional, in La..... VIII, 64
— — Peabody, Chas. A., judge in La.....VIII, 65
"Jules et Marie," indemnification for.....VIII, 132
Justice, L.'s sense of..... I, 57; V, 289
Justice of the Peace, L.'s opinion on.....XI, 102

K

Kane County, Ill., K convention in .....III, 281
Kankakee County, Ill..II, 275
Kansas, admission of..... III, 353; IV, 75, 240; V, 10
— — Douglas on.....III, 295
— bill to form.....II, 204
— Blunt encourages "Judge Lynch" in.....IX, 88
— constitution of, defeated.... III, 353
— — detested by citizens of.. III, 353
— — forced upon..... IV, 94, 96, 198
— Democrats "won't stand," "Black Republican" president.....XI, 115
— Dred Scott in.....IV, 205
— election in.....III, 353
— enabling act.....IV, 98
— — Douglas on.....IV, 147
— Gov. empowered to give commissions and fill vacancies.....IX, 34
— Lane adjusts matters in.... VIII, 256
— Lecompton constitution in.. III, 109
— L's reply to Douglas on.... II, 315
— — speeches in.....V, 260
— — subscription for..VI, 64
— negroes held in.....IV, 205
— outrage at Lawrence..... IX, 107
Kansas (*contd.*)
— removal from Blunt's department.....IX, 35
— right of, on slavery..V, 11
— Schofield, removal of..... IX, 104
— squatter sovereignty in.... V, 132
— troops in, question of raising.....X, 100
— — of, captured.....IX, 282
— vote on Lecompton constitution in.....IV, 29
Kansas City, Mo., outbreak near .....IX, 297
Kansas-Nebraska bill..V, 21
— introduction of.....III, 352
— principle of.....VI, 25
Kapp, Fred., telegram to, about troops from N. Y.... VIII, 322
Kaskaskia, Ill., slavery in.... II, 251; V, 224
"Kearsarge," destroys "Alabama" .....X, 280
Keenan, —, Mrs., pass for... X, 73
Kelley, B. F., Gen., telegram to .....VIII, 317
Kelley, W. D., Judge, opposition to.....X, 132, 181
— raises negro troops.VIII, 331
— suspicion of.....VI, 59
Kellogg, —, introduces Lincoln .....II, 89
Kellogg, Wm., letter to..... VI, 77; IX, 10

Kellogg, Wm. (*contd.*)
— note to Chase on..VIII, 333
— visit to L.....VI, 102
Kelly, —, ...IV, 50
Kelly, Moses, Register of Wills .....VII, 8
Kelly's Ford, Va., Meade's success at.....IX, 204
Kennedy, —, apprehensions of VIII, 79
Kent, Jas., Chancellor, ambition of.....II, 41
— "Commentaries" of, on Am. law .....II, 39
— L.'s opinion of.....II, 41
— methods of.....II, 41
— summary on appropriations. II, 39
Kentuckians, remarks to.... V, 195
Kentucky, arming of VIII, 175
— arrests.....VII, 6
— — letter to Seward on.... VII, 6
— assessments for rebel depredations.....X, 253, 255
— bravery of.....VIII, 176
— Buckner, statement to..... VI, 325
— Buell menaces Bowling Green.....VII, 84
— citizens disturb public peace X, 146
— contested election cases in.. I, 258
— delegation of, letter to..... VI, 294
Kentucky (*contd.*)
— difficulty about land titles in VI, 26
— Douglas campaign scheme in.....VI, 51
— election, difficulties in..... X, 266
— — strongly Republican..... IX, 62
— emigration of grandfather of Pres. to.....VI, 24
— gradual emancipation in... II, 279
— L. born in.....VIII, xviii
— Lincoln family in..... II, 181; V, 287; VI, 24, 25
— martial law established in.. X, 147
— military force, remonstrance at presence of.....VI, 349
— pacification of.....X, 276
— raid in.....VII, 268, 269
— removal of Josiah Lincoln from.....II, 15
— — Mordecai Lincoln from II, 181; VI, 25
— — President's grandfather to.....V, 286
— — Thos. Lincoln to..... II, 15; VI, 24, 25
— slavery in.....VI, 26
— slaves, liberated...VII, 282
— — number of, in 1860..... VII, 133
— "stampede" in.....VII, 275
— status of negroes in..... III, 100; IV, 25

Kentucky (*contd.*)
— suspension of habeas corpus in.....X, 147
— Thirteenth amendment, rejected.....X, 352
— troops, negro.....X, 61
— — quotas adjusted....X, 60
— Union in, fair prospects for VI, 351
— — feeling in.....VII, 53
— — men in, misunderstanding among.....X, 342
— value of, to Union cause... VI, 360
— Western, raid in....X, 252
Kentucky legislature, resents Fremont's proclamation.... VI, 359
Ketchum, —, Gen., telegram to.....VIII, 36
Key, John J., Maj., dismissal of .....VIII, 46
Key, Thos. M., Col., with Cobb, interview with.X, 335
Keyes, E. D., Lt.-Col. commands Fourth Corps..... VII, 116
— order to.....VI, 239
— memorandum of questions and answers between..... VII, 264
Key West, Fla., Bingham appointed judge at.....IX, 53
— blockade.....XI, 80
— port opened.....XI, 81
Kimball, —, Gen., dispatches of .....IX, 277
Kimball, Lee.....II, 50
King, —, Gen., reports Jackson reinforced .....VII, 199
King, Sen., difficulty with.... VI, 330
King, Rufus, Constitutional Father .....V, 300
— vote on slavery.....V, 297
King, Turner R., opposition to .....II, 116
— recommendation for..... II, 108, 113, 115
King, Wm. R., acting Vice.-Pres. .....II, 293
— death of.....II, 302
Kings, divine right of..... II, 253; V, 65
Kingsbury, —, Capt., approves Ellsworth gun carriage .....VI, 361
Kingston, Tenn., Burnside takes .....IX, 111
— Rosecrans holds road to.... IX, 167
Kinney, —, ...II, 273
Kinney, —, Capt., introduced to Grant .....X, 62
Kinney, Alex. B., release for X, 278
Kirby, Spencer, letter to..... IX, 215
Kirkland, C. P., letter to..... VIII, 136
— telegram to.....IX, 217
Klein, Joseph, affidavit of.I, 72
Knob Creek, Ky., Lincoln's house on .....VI, 26

Knob Creek (*contd.*)
— — remembrance of..VI, 39
Know-nothings, compact to elect Lincoln.....IV, 14
See also American party.
Knox County, Ill., Douglas in IV, 237
Knox, T. W., "N. Y. Herald" correspondent, court-martialed .....VIII, 230
Knoxville, Tenn., Burnside takes .....IX, 111
— and Cincinnati R. R..X, 86
— Grant and Foster at..... IX, 286
— — position at.....IX, 253
— scheme for cutting railroad near.....VII, 106
Koerner, G., Gov. of Ill., introduced to Halleck.VII, 85
Koppel, Herman, breach of blockade by.....VIII, 202
Kuhn, —, appeal for mercy.. IX, 104

L

Labor and capital, equality of X, 51
— question of.....VII, 56
— relation between....V, 230
Labor, basis of all government VI, 119
— a commodity.....VIII, 126
— capital dependent upon..... V, 247
— cessation of, effect of..... I, 314
Labor (*contd.*)
— combination with education V, 251
— conflict of free, with slave-labor.....V, 214
— demand for, increases price of.....VIII, 127
— education demanded by free V, 252
— effect of protection upon... I, 307
— — slave-labor on free..... V, 204; VIII, 126
— essential to enjoyment..... I, 307
— free, nature of..... V, 250; X, 51
— independent of capital..... V, 248
— injured by U. S. notes..... VIII, 192
— L.'s views on..X, 51, 52, 53
— meritoriousness of...I, 307
— "mud-sill" theory of..... V, 248, 251
— negro, in U. S. Army..... IX, 247
— products of, property of laborer.....I, 307
— relation of capital to.V, 248
— source of all supply..V, 247
— strikes possible by American system of.....V, 336
— transportation a loss of... VI, 128
— true standard of value..... VI, 128

Labor (*contd.*)
— useless, a burden upon useful.....I, 309
— — forms of.....I, 301, 308
— — produces same effect as idleness.....I, 314
— — robber of useful..I, 307
See also, Capital; Wealth.
Laborer, fatality of situation of V, 248
— L. hired as.....V, 361
— L.'s views on hired..VII, 58
Laborers, education of.V, 251
— extract on, from annual message of 1861.....X, 51
— scarcity of.....IX, 231
— slaves employed as..... VII, 284, 285
Lafayette, boast of....IX, vii
— Washington's letter to..... V, 312
Lafourche Parish, La., exempted .....VIII, 163
La Harpe, Ill., residence of Lincoln's cousins.....II, 14
Lai, —, appeal.....IX, 104
Laidley, —, Major, projectile tested by.....IX, 283
"La Manche," claim of..X, 10
Lambert, Wm. H., Maj..... I, vii; XI, 142
Lamborn, —, on administration .....I, 125
— prosecutes murder trial..... I, 171
Lamon, Ward H., letter to.. II, 365
Lamon, Ward H. (*contd.*)
— passed to Richmond..XI, 78
— reference to.....II, 290
— Springfield farewell scene described by.....VI, 110
Land bill, Clay's.....I, 248
Land resolutions.....I, 140
— titles, difficult in Ky.VI, 26
Lands, public; *see,* Public lands.
Lander, F., Brig.-Gen., division of .....VII, 117
Lane, —, Col., reports Owensboro, Ky., in possession of Confederates .....VI, 357
Lane, Geo. W., detained at Norfolk .....XI, 59, 78
Lane, J. H., Gen., assigned command .....VII, 90, 99
— assistance in Kan..... VIII, 256
— empowered to raise regiments.....VI, 294
— letter to, answering inquiries IX, 34
— — on Gen. Hunter..... VII, 99
— L. appoints.....VI, 339
— operations in Mo...VII, 76
— Senate inquiry on appointment.....VI, 337
— Schofield's removal demanded by.....IX, 104
Lane, Jos., candidate for Vice-Pres. .....VI, 13
Lane, S. H., Sen., introduces Winston .....X, 102

Langdon, John, Constitutional Father .....V, 299
— vote of, on slavery..V, 297
Langford, —, in Fisher murder case .....I, 174
Lanphier, Chas. H., editor of "State Register"..... III, 308; IV, 279, 336
— endorsement of....IV, 338
Lardner, John L., Capt., receives thanks of Congress.. VIII, 267
Larned, —, Maj., appointment of .....VIII, 227
La Rue County, Ky., formation of .....VI, 24
La Salle County, Ill... II, 272
La Salle, Tex., blockade..... XI, 80
Last public address...XI, 84
Latin, knowledge of....V, 287
Lavely, —, paid by L...I, 317
Law, advice on study of..... VI, 59
— — to student of....XI, 114
— distinction of.....V, 320
— Kent's "Commentaries" on American.....II, 39
— L. a student of.....V, 288
— — admitted to practice of. VIII, xx
— — resumes practice of..... VI, 37
— L.'s absorption in practice of.....VI, 37
— — division of attention to VI, 38
Law (*contd.*)
— — license to practice..... VI, 33
— notes of argument in case at II, 366
— notes for lecture on..II, 140
Law, fugitive slave; *see* Fugitive slave law.
— martial; *see*, Martial law.
— sedition, Douglas'....V, 325
Lawlessness, denunciation of. I, 33
— growth of.....I, 37
See also, Lynching.
Lawmakers, respect for...I, 8
Law of nations, on blockade. VII, 249
— privateers.....VII, 281
See also, Great Britain.
Lawrence, —, the Rev., supports Lincoln .....II, 272
Lawrence, Kan., massacre at IX, 107, 161
Lawrenceburg, Ind., troops for .....VII, 2
Laws, —, Grant stops at lines X, 354
Laws, bad, to be obeyed..I, 44
— class of, to distribute burdens and benefits....IX, 81
— enforcement of..... VI, 180; VII, 111
— failure of.....I, 44
— reverence for.....I, 43, 50
— support of.....I, 43
Laws, U. S. Statute, condition of.....VII, 39

Laws, U. S. Statute (*contd.*)
— Congress asked to consider plan to revise and rewrite.. VII, 41
Lawyers, Kent one of most learned .....II, 41
— popular belief in dishonesty of.....II, 143
Leavenworth, Kan., complaints from.....VIII, 256
— predicted growth of..VI, 6
— speech at.....XI, 115
Leavitt, —, Judge, case before VIII, 274
Le Blond, F. C., letter to.... IX, 1
Lecture, "Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements".. V, 99
— notes for, on Niagara Falls II, 138
Lecompton Constitution, acceptance of ....IV, 232, 233
— attempt to force...III, 109
— defeat of.....IV, 29
— — Douglas approves.III, 166
— — — claims credit of..... III, 27
— Democratic party, condemned for action on..... VI, 16
— — splits on.....IV, 276
— Douglas' disagreement on.. IV, 187; V, 46
— — opposition to..... III, 56; IV, 28, 225, 238; V, 12
Lecompton Const'n (*contd.*)
— failure of.....V, 329, 341
— framers of, promote slavery III, 250
— L.'s position on..... III, 163, 165; IV, 229
— opponents of supported.V, 17
— provision for amendment of III, 246
— re-introduced as English bill V, 14, 15
— rejected by Kan..... IV, 244, 245
— slavery provided for in..... III, 291
— Trumbull opposes..III, 168
— vote on.....III, 165
Lee, —, Judge-Advocate, instructed to revise proceedings .....VIII, 187
— letter to, from Nicolay..... VII, 211
— — on sentences of Indians VIII, 92
Lee, Custus, Gen., captured.. XI, 76
Lee, J. C., letter to ....VI, 64
Lee, Sam. Phillips, Rear-Adm., draft of telegram to.. IX, 15
— recommended for thanks of Congress.....VII, 161
— telegram to.....IX, 16
Lee, Robt. E., Gen., conference with Grant....X, 187
— Hooker defeated by..... VIII, 263, 264

Lee, Robt. E. (*contd.*)
— L.'s mortification at escape of.....IX, 39
— Longstreet withdrawn from IX, 171
— losses of his army..... IX, 70, 71
— McClellan's lost chance to defeat.....VIII, 321
— magnitude of his escape... IX, 29
— Meade avoids.....IX, 171
— — pursues .....IX, 22
— movements of..IX, 171, 180
— re-inforces Early....X, 236
— retreats across Potomac.... VIII, 22, 29, 39
— returns toward Harper's Ferry.....VIII, 321
— Russell letter returned by.. XI, 62
— situation of, in front of Burnside.....VIII, 88
— strength of army of, before Richmond.....IX, 129
— — in October 1863..IX, 171
— surrender of.....XI, 84
— treason of.....VIII, 305
Legal abilities of Lincoln.... II, 140
— fees, importance of..... II, 142
— opinion, on Cong. land act V, 97
— profession, need of..II, 142
Legislative elections, Whig principle of .....II, 69
Legislative, freedom of..V, 19
Legislative, duty of....IV, 61
Lellyett, John, letter to..... X, 248
Lennon, John, execution suspended .....X, 329
Lester, John H., confiscation of money of.....X, 236
Letcher, R. P., contested election case of.....I, 258
Letter, circular, to Governors of various States..VII, 256
Letters. For letters to and from Abraham Lincoln, *see* the names of their respective writers and recipients.
Letters, form of reply to.... VI, 22
Letters of Lincoln, literary style of .....I, xvii
Lewis, Alph., encourages cultivation of Arkansas plantations .....IX, 293
— introduced to Thomas..... X, 27
Lewis, Jas. T., Gov. of Wis., offers troops.....X, 83
Lewis, Thos., on committee of Hungarian freedom..II, 127
Lewisburg, Va., success of Averill and Duffie at..... IX, 204
Lexington, Ky., Burbridge at X, 125, 214, 234
— early home of Mary Todd Lincoln.....II, 181
— forces near.....VI, 4, 5

Lexington (*contd.*)
— Johnston's camp near..... VIII, 281
— L.'s trip to.....I, 185
— proposed railroad connections with.....VI, 31
— residence of Thos. Lincoln near.....II, 15
Libby Prison, exchange of Rogers from.....X, 54
Libel; *see,* Slander.
Liberia, commercial treaty with .....VIII, 98
— colonization in..VIII, 5, 97
— independence of.....VI, 33
— L. favors nergo colonization in.....II, 209
— official correspondence with X, 285
— policy on.....VII, 33
— proposal to furnish gunboat to.....X, 285
Liberty, bulwark of...XI, 110
— civil and religious..VII, 154
— — cause of, not to be surrendered.....V, 94
— — desire for.....VI, 120
— — L.'s opinion of his own efforts for.....V, 95
— Clay's love of..II, 164, 171
— definitions of.....X, 77
— Hungarian, sympathy with II, 127
— of the press..... VIII, 302; X, 108
— of speech.....VIII, 302
— preservation of.....II, 235
Library of Congress, publications presented to.VIII, 146
License, to pass blockade.... X, 14
— of commercial intercourse VIII, 238
"Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln," by Geo. Bancroft .....VIII, v
"Life of Washington," Weems .....VI, 151
Lima, Peru, joint commission at .....IX, 226
"Lincoln," by Paul Laurence Dunbar .....IV, xvii
"Lincoln," by S. Weir Mitchell .....II, xv
Lincoln, Abraham. For incidents of his life, transactions, correspondence, etc., *see* the various subject-entries throughout this Index.
Lincoln, Abraham, cousin of President .....II, 14
Lincoln, Abraham, grandfather of the President.... II, 11, 180; V, 286; VI, 24, 56.
— family of.....II, 181
— killed by Indians..... V, 286; VI, 24, 57
— removed to Ky.....VI, 57
— surviving family of..VI, 25
Lincoln, Abraham, Mrs., birth and rearing of.....II, 181
— Grant and Meade invited to dine by.....X, 36

Lincoln, A. Mrs. (*contd.*)
— letters to.....IX, 61, 130
— result at Chickamauga telegraphed to.....IX, 137
— situation at Fort Sumter and Fort Wagner telegraphed to IX, 106
— telegrams to..VIII, 148, 296, 317, 322; IX, 46, 110, 112, 130, 134, 216; X, 89, 131, 134, 140, 206, 219, 220; XI, 66
Lincoln and Douglas debates; *see,* Douglas, debates with.
"Lincoln and Emancipation," by Jas. A. Garfield.. XI, v
"Lincoln and the Race Problem," by Theo. Roosevelt.. II, v
"Lincoln as a Writer," by Rich. Watson Gilder..I, ix
"Lincoln Bibliography," compiled by Dan. Fish XI, 137
Lincoln, Dav., first cousin of President's father....II, 14
— letters to....II, 11, 14, 181
Lincoln, Edw. Baker, death of .....II, 135
Lincoln, Isaac, great-uncle of President ..... II, 15, 180; VI, 24, 57
— descendants of.....VI, 24
Lincoln, Jacob, great-uncle of President..II, 16; VI, 24, 57
— descendants of.....VI, 24
Lincoln, Jesse, letter to..... II, 180
Lincoln, John, great-uncle of President..II, 15; VI, 24, 57
— descendants of.....VI, 24
Lincoln, Josiah, last knowledge of.....II, 14
— uncle of Pres..... II, 14, 180; VI, 25
"Lincoln Literature," XI, 137
"Lincoln, the Man of the People," by Edwin Markham .....III, xlvii
Lincoln, Mary, great-aunt of President.II, 14, 180; VI, 25
— descendants of.....VI, 25
Lincoln, Mordecai, cousin of President .....II, 14
Lincoln, Mordecai, uncle of President II, 14, 190; VI, 25
— death of.....II, 180
— legend of.....II, 180
— settlement of.....II, 14
Lincoln, Nancy, great-aunt of Pres. .....VI, 25
Lincoln, Robt. T., assigned to Grant's staff.....X, 343
— at Harvard.....VI, 43
— letter of, to Nicolay..I, v
— telegrams to..... IX, 15, 24, 30, 281, 286; X, 241; XI, 60
Lincoln, Sally Bush Johnston, step-mother of President, affection for Lincoln.. II, 44, 153
— Lincoln's loyalty to..II, 144

Lincoln, Thos., cousin of President.....II, 14
Lincoln, Thos., father of President .....
II, 14, 180; VI, 21, 24
— death of.....II, 181
— illiteracy of.....VI, 25
— employment of.....VI, 25
— letter to.....II, 96
— removal of, from Ky.V, 287
— — to Coles County, Ill.....
VI, 31
— — to Ky.....VI, 57
— Virginia birth of...VI, 57
Lincoln, Thos., great-uncle of President..II, 15; VI, 24, 57
Lincoln-Trumbull bargain; *see* Matheny, Jas. H.
Linder, Dan., discharge of...
IX, 275
— sent to L.....IX, 272
Linder, U. F., letter to..II, 3
— reply to.....I, 19
— speech of.....II, 131
— telegram to.....IX, 275
Literary style of Lincoln, R. W. Gilder.....I, ix
Litigation, discouragement of.
II, 142
— enormity of instigating.....
II, 142
Little, S., request for draft..
IV, 199
Little, S. H., signs Whig circular .....I, 166; II, 272
"Little Hickory," Polk known as .....II, 73
Little Rock, Ark., oath of allegiance in.....IX, 277
— reconstruction in.....X, 11
Lloyd, Robt., bill for services as axeman.....I, 13
Loans, money raised on.....
VIII, 193
— national, legislation on.....
IX, 233
—receipts from, 1861–62.....
VIII, 103; X, 292
— refunding of.....X, 102
Loans of U. S. Treasury; *see* Treasury, U. S.
Local issues, dangers of V, 131
Locke, Erie, letter to..VI, 100
Locofoco party, effect of Taylor's nomination on...II, 27
— exultation of.....II, 273
— opposition to.....I, 352
— position on Mexican war..
I, 352
Logan, Chris......II, 50
Logan, John A., Gen., at Carbondale, Ill.....X, 266
— extended leave for.....
IX, 71; X, 266
— invited to capitol....X, 266
Logan, Step. T., appointment of.....I, 242
— assists L....;.....II, 140
— candidacy of.....XI, 101
— draws resolutions on death of Judge Nath. Pope.....
II, 136
— opinion on Ill. election law
II, 178

Logan, Step. T. (*contd.*)
— practices law with L..... I, 189; XI, 98
— signs Whig circular..I, 259
Logue, Felix, affidavit in Wright case.....IX, 119
London, Eng., Confederate representatives in...VI, 278
— industrial exhibition at.... VI, 329
— letter to working-men of.. VIII, 211
London and Hampshire railroad, troops ordered over.. VI, 327
"London Times," estimate of Second Inaugural....XI, 44
Long, Alex., letter to....IX, 1
"Long John," defense of.... XI, 103
Longstreet, Jas., Lt.-Gen., inquiry on position of.VII, 204
— marching toward Richmond VIII, 269
— movement to Tenn...IX, 135
— reported battle with Hooker VIII, 263
— rumors of movement toward Washington.....X, 157
— uncertainty of his movements.....VIII, 316
— withdrawal from Lee's army IX, 171
Loomis, Dwight, recommends Goodman .....VIII, 221
Loomis, F. B., offers garrison X, 97
Loring, W. W., defeated by Grant .....VIII, 281
— driven back.....VIII, 281
"Loss of Lincoln, The," by Henry Ward Beecher..X, v
"Lost Townships," letter from .....I, 221
Louaillier, —, denounces Jackson's martial law..VIII, 311
Louden, Robt., sentenced.... X, 93
Loudon, Va., Burnside drives Confederate force from.... IX, 111
Louisiana, admission of II, 196
— arrangement for freedmen of IX, 202
— banks prevented from loaning money.....X, 268
— Banks' ability for work in X, 277
— — confers with citizens of IX, 56
— — paper relating to..X, 333
— blockade of ports of..... VI, 248, 257; X, 14; XI, 81
— Butler recommends repeal of ordinance of secession IX, 203
— — requested to aid election plans.....VIII, 61
— candidacy of Federal officers VIII, 79
— civil government to be supported in.....X, 269
— — support promised to..... X, 267

Louisiana (*contd.*)
— constitutional convention meets.....X, 268
— — military insult to..... VIII, 327
— — status of negro in..... X, 267
— court officers' salaries, provision for.....VIII, 66
— destitution in.....X, 227
— election in.....XI, 89
— — negotiations for..... VIII, 61
— — proclamation declaring.. X, 38
— — day for.....VIII, 81
— — promised.....VIII, 328
— — Congressional ..... VIII, 79, 80
— — — letters to Shepley on VIII, 79, 80
— emancipation in..... IX, 56, 108; XI, 86
— Federal Union, relation to XI, 90
— Free-State constitution adopted in.....XI, 89
— Hahn elected Governor.... X, 38, 39
— — invested with full powers in.....X, 42
— letter to Trumbull on affairs in.....X, 333
— loyal voters in number of,.. XI, 89
— military protection assured to.....VII, 297

Louisiana (*contd.*)
— — supremacy assured to Hurlbut.....X, 269
— negro franchise authorized XI, 89
— — — L.'s position on..... XI, 89
— — — withheld in...XI, 89
— — schools established.XI, 89
— negroes in convention, question of.....X, 39
— — organized in..VIII, 175
— new Constitution adopted.. IX, 203; X, 185; XI, 85, 86
— — — established ..... VIII, 79, 80
— — — reception of..X, 186
— — — supported.....X, 267
— organization of.....V, 299
— Phelps' influence in..... VII, 292
— police regulations in..... VII, 295
— provisional court established in.....VIII, 64
— — — Peabody made judge of.....VIII, 65
— purchase of..... II, 195; V, 299; VII, 50
— rebellion declared in..... VIII, 163
— reconstruction in..... IX, 273; XI, 89
— — Banks reports on..... IX, 282
— — Flanders reports on.... IX, 200

Louisiana (*contd.*)
— — inaugurated....VIII, 80
— — L.'s plan for, frustrated VIII, 80
— — Slidell's pleasure in failure of.....X, 267
— re-establishment of relations with U. S.....X, 313, 334
— restoration to Union..... VII, 299
— salaries of public officers scaled.....X, 268
— Shepley, instructed in affairs in.....IX, 201
— situation in.....VII, 297
— slavery in, regulated by act of Congress.....V, 299, 300
— starvation in.....X, 227
— State constitution amended VIII, 327
— — government, correspondence on.....XI, 87
— — — Federal support necessary to.....XI, 91
— — — Hurlbut's opposition to.....X, 267
— — — in conformity with Constitution urged..... VII, 297
— — — military hostility to.. X, 268
— — — number of constituents.....XI, 89
— — — organized.....XI, 89
— — — part taken by L. in XI, 85
— — — status of.....X, 267
Louisiana (*contd.*)
— Thirteenth Amendment ratified.....XI, 89
— — — supported in..XI, 91
Louisville, Ky., Anderson at.. VII, 5
— appeals from, against withdrawal of troops from.... VIII, 26
— Boyle at...VIII, 20, 21, 26
— — questioned about situation at.....VIII, 26
— Buell at..... VII, 70, 73, 74, 98, 118
— Churchill banished to..... XI, 48
— Harris arrested at...X, 214
— L.'s proposed visit to..... I. 175
— Meade discharged at..... X, 234
— negroes sold at..VIII, 257
— Palmer at.....XI, 40
— situation of.....VII, 2
— Thomas at..X, 24, 26, 125
— Wright responsible for..... VIII, 26
— — withdraws troops from VIII, 26
Louisville "Journal," attitude of .....VI, 67
Lovejoy, Elijah, killing of... I, 51
Lovejoy, Owen, abolition radicalism of.....IV, 347
— candidate for Congress.... IV, 179

Lovejoy, Owen (*contd.*)
— canvass for L..... IV, 76, 77, 80
— catechism of.....III, 217
— character of.....X, 111
— complaint against L..... III, 287
— counsellor of L....III, 305
— erection of monument to.. X, 110
— fear of, by friends of L.... IV, 174
— L. supported by..... IV, 174, 176
— acquaintance with..X, 111
— negro equality.....V, 3
— nomination of..... II, 290, 365
— opposes admission of slave States.....IV, 80, 304
— — Douglas.....IV, 8
— pre-amble and resolutions of III, 320; IV, 12
— share in Republican party III, 224
Lowe, F. F., letter to on "New Almaden" mine.....IX, 85
— — act of Congress..IX, 190
— telegram to.....IX, 24
Lowe, J. G., letter to..VI, 108
Lowell, Jas. Russell, author.. IX, 284
— opinion of L.....V, xxvi
Lower California, proposed seizure of.....I, 342
"Loyal Brigade of the North," offer of.....VIII, 323
Lucas, J. M., letter to..... II, 114, 358
Luckett, Hen, F., execution suspended .....IX, 263
Ludlow, —, Col., telegrams to VIII, 290
Lusk, Edward, letter to V, 90
Luther, Martin, quotation from .....IX, xx
Lutherans, response to..... VII, 153
Lyman, —, Dr.,.....II, 272
"Lynch, Judge," Blunt encourages .....IX, 88
Lynchburg, Va, raid near.... IX, 181
Lynching, denunciation of.... I, 38
See also, Lawlessness.
Lyon, Nath., Brig.-Gen., gallantry of.....VI, 356
Lyons, Lord, correspondence on African slave-trade..... VII, 216
— — "Trent" affair..VII, 91
— gratitude of.....X, 84
— proposed as mediator..... VI, 252

M

McCall, G. A., Gen., at Fredericksburg ....VII, 206, 208
McCallister and Stebbins bonds, *see* Illinois.
McCallum, —, Gen., Sullivan's sentence suspended by..... IX, 139

McClaran, Chas., assessed... XI, 35
McClellan, Geo. Brinton, Gen., advised to break enemy's line.....VII, 140
— aloofness of.....VII, 157
— Antietam, battle of..... VIII, 34
— appointed general-in-chief.. VII, 13
— Aquia Creek R. R. broken VII, 195
— army re-organized..VII, 156
— asks reinforcements..... VII, 253, 254
— Blenker's division detached from.....VII, 225
— Burnside reinforces..... VII, 257
— censured for relieving Hamilton.....VII, 157
— commands Dept. of Potomac VIII, 72
— commands West Va. forces VI, 332
— communication with White House cut off.....VII, 242
— complains of support..... VII, 141; VIII, 57
— congratulated ..... VII, 202, 261; VIII, 34
— consulted on appointment.. VII, 151
— Corinth army opposed to... VII, 260
— Democratic candidate..... X, 116
McClellan, Geo. B. (*contd.*)
— disposition of force..... VII, 242
— Dix assigned to...VII, 221
— evacuation of Fredericksburg reported to..VII, 147
— fears enemy in force..... VII, 235
— Halleck cannot reinforce... VII, 257
— — repeats order to move... VIII, 66
— illness of.....VII, 71
— informed of enemy's movements.....VII, 207
— informed of Jackson's reinforcement.....VII, 228
— Lee attacks.....VII, 239
— letter to..... VII, 24, 61, 93, 94, 138, 157; VIII, 25, 57, 59; IX, 13
— — on Hamilton's reinstatement.....VII, 174
— L.'s course in event of election of.....X, 204
— Malvern Hill, battle of.... VII, 239
— moves his army...VIII, 70
— Noggle case referred to.... VII, 308
— James River, falls back from VII, 259
— Lane expedition placed under.....VII, 90
— McDowell placed under.... VII, 174
— — cooperates with.VII, 169

McClellan, Geo. B. (*contd.*)
— memorandum of questions and answers.....VII, 262
— mounts reported sick..... VIII, 67
— — supplied to.....VIII, 69
— ordered to move....VIII, 54
— — to suspend habeas corpus.....VII, 89
— overcautiousness of..... VIII, 57
— plans movement....VII, 93
— opens communication with Pope.....VIII, 19
— Porter ordered to..VIII, 25
— Potomac, crosses..... VIII, 53, 54, 59, 68
— Rawley case referred to.. VII, 308
— recruits with drafted men.. VIII, 69
— relieved from command.... VIII, 72
— restoration to command difficult.....IX, 13
— Richmond, campaign against VII, 141, 183
— — fails to take....VII, 198
— — retreat from...VII, 239
— — suffers reverse before... VII, 238
— — urged to attack..VIII, 58
— Sharpsburg, meets enemy at VIII, 35
— size of force.....VII, 142
— Stanton, quarrel with..... VII, 304, 305
McClellan, Geo. B. (*contd.*)
— strength on Peninsula..... VII, 274
— subsistence threatened..... VIII, 57
— support promised..VII, 163
— supported by gunboats..... VII, 248
— takes field.....VII, 129
— telegram to..... VII, 140, 147, 151, 152, 163, 176, 183, 188, 198, 207, 208, 210, 277, 286; VIII, 23, 25, 28, 54, 66, 67, 68, 69.
— — reviewing situation..... VII, 186
— urged to attack..... VII, 143; VIII, 67
— views desired.....VII, 230
— war, plan to end....X, 189
— Washington, plan to defend VII, 254
— Winchester, urged to attack VIII, 57
— Wool's command attached to VII, 143
— — department merged with VII, 208
— Young case.....VII, 61
McClernand, John A., Brig.-Gen.,.....II, 354, 355
— charges against.....IX, 68
— leave extended.....X, 178
— letter from Stanton..IX, 120
— letters to..... VI, 286; VII, 18; VIII, 181, 201

McClernand, J. A. (*contd.*)
— relieved.....VII, 18
— seeks release of prisoners.. X, 324
McClure, A. K., Col., interview on Cameron....VI, 92
— L.'s personal appearance described by .....III, x
— telegram to.....IX, 14
McCook, —, Col., at Vienna, Va. .....VI, 328
McCullom, —, letter to..... VIII, 286
McCullough, Fanny, letter to VIII, 153
McCurdy, Robt. H., letter to VII, 278
McDonough Co., Ill...IV, 68
McDowell, Chas., delegate... IV, 50
McDowell, Irwin, Maj.-Gen., at Front Royal.....VII, 202
— commands Dept. of Rappahannock.....VII, 169
— — First Corps....VII, 116
— — Third Corps....VII, 236
— Frémont's telegram sent to VII, 205
— informed of Jackson's force VII, 204
— McCall detached from..... VII, 212
— occupies Rappahannock..... VII, 147
— opposed by Anderson..... VII, 177
— reports whereabouts of Shields and Jackson ..... VII, 211
— Saxton's dispatch sent to... VII, 206
— telegram to, to move to the Shenandoah.....VII, 180
— — on force at Fredericksburg.....VII, 181
— — suggesting movement... VII, 194
— urged to attack....VII, 198
— Washington, detained to defend.....VII, 239
— West Point, supplied from.. VII, 169
McDowell, Jas., Gov...II, 15
"Macedonian," claim of, paid X, 285
McElrath, —, Mrs., deportation .....X, 224
McGaughey, —, candidate... II, 105
McGuire, Geo. W., sentenced IX, 84
McHenry, Jas., favors slavery V, 296
Mack, Dav., paper by..II, 117
Mackay, Alf., telegram to.... X, 105
McKee, —, proceedings against IX, 37
Mackinaw trout, gift of.X, 355
McKinley, Wm., on "Abraham Lincoln, the Great Republican" .....V, v
McKinney, J. F., letter to.... IX, 1

Maclean, John, Dr., degree for X, 326
— Dred Scott decision..II, 320
— judicial career.....VII, 38
— letters to...II, 266; X, 326
— Presidential possibility..... II, 16
Macomb, Ill.....IV, 68
Macon Co., Ill., Hanks family in .....V, 286
— Lincoln family in..... VI, 29, 288
McLean Co., Ill., delegates of II, 365
— Douglas' early home..... III, 106
— — gratitude to....III, 106
— — speech in.....III, 54
— sues for taxes.....II, 179
McLellan, C. W.....I, vii
McMichael, Mort., letter to.. X, 181
McNeil, C. F., letter to..VI, 8
McPheeters, Sam S., Rev. Dr., case of..... VIII, 168; IX, 269
— — indorsement on..IX, 271
McPherson, Jas. B., Gen., assigned command.....X, 41
McVeigh, Wayne, telegrams to .....IX, 168
Madison Co. Ill.,.....II, 275
Madison, Jas., Pres., course toward defeated opponents. V, 218
— opposed to U. S. Bank..... II, 60
Madison, Jas. (*contd.*)
— position on slavery..... V, 297; VIII, xi
Magnanimity of Lincoln.... X, 228, 264
Magoffin, Beriah, Gov. of Ky. VII, 144, 349
Magrath, F. M., Gen., treason of.....VIII, 305
Magruder, John B., Gen., treason of.....VIII, 305
Mail contract, Lincoln's brother bids on.....II, 135
Mail matter, free appropriation for.....VII, 43
Mails, U. S., detention of.... I, 323
— continuance of.....VI, 299
— government rights in..... VIII, 252
— invioliability of...VIII, 252
— remuneration for carrying I, 324
Maine, boundary question..... I, 135
— Butler proposes to raise troops in.....VI, 353
— compared to So. Car.II, 233
— liquor laws of.....III, 129
— negro franchise in..... III, 143
— — status in..... III, 99; IV, 26
Majority, rights of..... V, 7; I, 339
Malhiot, E. E., on committee VIII, 327

Malhiot, E. E. (*contd.*)
— letter to.....VIII, 326
Mallory, Jas., case of..X, 324
Mallory, R., consents to raising regiment in Ky..VI, 295
— at slave State conference..VII, 128
Maltby, Harrison. letter to...II, 297
Malvern Hill, battle of.....VII, 239
Manassas Junction, Va., left unprotected...VII, 141, 142
— military line from..VI, 332
— Ricketts ordered to.....VII, 195
Manchester, Eng., letter to workingmen of....VIII, 194
Mangum, W. P., Vice-Pres. of .....II, 302
Manierre, Benj. F., letter to. IX, 215
Manifest destiny, reference to V, 101
Mankind, duty to.....VI, 120
Manly, Miss, refuses allegiance X, 37
Mann, Horace, Mrs., letter to X, 68
Mansfield, J. K. F., Gen., advice asked.....VI, 293
Manufactures, Calhoun's views in regard to.....I, 245
— importance of.....I, 244
— protection of.....II, 40
Marchant, Hen. A., Capt., leave for.....VIII, 222
Marchant, H. A. (*contd.*)
— ordered to Washington....VIII, 218
Marcy, R. R., Gen., telegram to .....VII, 200
Marine, *see* Commercial Marine.
Markham, Edwin...III, xlvii
Marsh, —, letter to....VI, 99
Marsh, Geo. P., proposed minister .....VI, 223
Marshall, —, services of II, 85
Marshall Co., Ill., Lincoln speaks in .....IV, 68
Marston, —, Gen....VIII, 167
— proclamation of....XI, 129
Martel, Charles....IX, xxxii
Martial law.....VIII, 42
— Hunter proclaims..VII, 170
— in Ky.....X, 147
See also, Habeas Corpus.
Martin, Wes., deported XI, 33
Martin, Wm., appointed collector .....VIII, 13
Martinsburg, Va., Banks at..VII, 187
— beseiged.....VIII, 317
— re-captured.....X, 142
— Tyler at.....VIII, 315
Maryland, call for militia....VIII, 318
— constitution adopted.....X, 243, 270
— — ratified.....X, 239
— election of 1864 in..X, 271
— — violence of.....IX, 185, 196

Maryland (*contd.*)
— emancipation in.....X, 30
— — misunderstood.....X, 31
— — plans in .....IX, 247
— — hopes for.....X, 43
— invaded .....X, 142
— L.'s canvass in.....VI, 37
— — majority in.....X, 271
— — views on.....VII, 125
— loyalty of.....X, 243
— — dependent on Ky.....
VI, 360
— negroes in.....VIII, 127
— — recruited in.....IX, 150
— protection for voters.....
IX, 196
— reorganized.....X, 303
— slavery in.....VII, 124
— slaves in.....VII, 132
— soldiers' vote.....X, 262
— Union Committee, reply to
X, 270
— — feeling in.....
VII, 293; X, 270
— — sustained by.....VII, 53
— voting test in.....IX, 197
Maryland legislature, anticipates arming people VI, 255
Mason and Dixon's line, insurgent support north of...
VII, 52
Mason, Jas. M., on Constitutional Fathers .....V, 335
— homespun suit..V, 337, 363
Massachusetts, Butler's proposal to raise troops in.....
VI, 352
Massachusetts (*contd.*)
— delegation, reply to..XI, 118
— L.'s canvass in.....VI, 37
— movement against foreigners in.....V, 131
— slavery, view of, in..II, 91
Massachusetts legislature, invitation declined...VI, 10
"Massachusetts," detains "Perthshire" .....VII, 32
Massacre, *see* Fort Pillow.
Mass-meeting, to honor Grant
X, 112
Matheny, C. W...I, 63; II, 50
Matheny, Jas. H., appointed
I, 242
— candidate.....IV, 14
— friend of L.....IV, 171
— L. and Trumbull bargain..
III, 204; IV, 14, 36, 77, 171
— Trumbull attacked by.....
III, 212; IV, 15
Mathers, John, letter to.....
III, 188
Matteson, Joel A......IV, 50
— defeats L.....II, 274
— letter to.....VI, 96
Matthews, Jas. L., exiled....
VIII, 172
May, W. L., signs call..I, 181
Maynard, Hor., telegram to..
X, 7
Mayo, Z. B., legislative candidate .....IV, 50, 51
Meade, Geo. G., Gen., advised on advance.....IX, 128
— asks to be relieved..IX, 28

Meade, Geo. G. (*contd.*)
— Collins' sentence suspended by.....X, 72
— confidence in.....IX, 39
— Dawson case referred to... X, 85
— demands inquiry.....X, 61
— dissatisfaction with..... IX, 28
— Edds' desertion..... IX, 117, 119
— Ewell's movements reported to.....IX, 167
— gratitude to.....IX, 28
— Halleck reports fall of Vicksburg to.....IX, 22
— — urges against Lee.IX, 22
— Harrow granted leave by.. IX, 276
— Hooker asked to take command under.....IX, 44
— King's sentence suspended by.....IX, 212
— Lee, engagement with, not desired for.....IX, 46
— letter to.....IX, 104
— L. advises attack..... IX, 123, 171
— L.'s views on movements of, after Gettysburg....IX, 39
— Maryland soldiers' vote reported by.....X, 263
— Murphy pardoned..IX, 166
— pardons various prisoners.. IX, 170
— Rappahannock Station captured.....IX, 204
Meade, Geo. G. (*contd.*)
— strength of....IX, 128, 129
— Sullivan's sentence suspended.....IX, 139
— sword to.....IX, 106
— telegrams to..... IX, 89, 113, 117, 119, 123, 125, 139, 166, 170, 188, 192, 199, 204; X, 34, 72, 75, 85, 89, 107
— Wellers' sentence suspended IX, 199
— Wheaton granted leave.... IX, 113
Meade, R. K......II, 43
Meagher, T. F., Gen., raises corps.....VIII, 322
Meconkey, S. B., Mrs., letter to.....X, 96
Medical dept. of army reorganized.....VII, 227
Medill, Jos.....II, 361; VI, 56
Meeker, Geo. W., signer of resolutions on death of Judge Nath. Pope....II, 136
Meigs, M. C., Gen., instructions indorsed.....VII, 166
— Quarter-master Gen..... VI, 290
— Seward advises calling..... VI, 227
Memorandum on Amsterdam projectile .....X, 35
— on Andrews.....VIII, 323
— on Cabinet officers..X, 158
— on Carter's appointment... IX, 164

Memorandum (*contd.*)
— on churches.....X, 30
— on co-operation with successor.....X, 203
— on draft.....IX, 194
— on Dresser.....I, 269
— on Fugitive-slave law..... XI, 115
— on Mrs. Hunt.....X, 72
— on instructions to McDowell VII, 166
— on interview with Phila. P. M.....X, 132
— on Koppell.....VIII, 202
— on Merryman.....VIII, 273
— on questions and answers.. VII, 262
— on release of prisoners.... X, 279
— on restoration of peace.... XI, 71
— on Sands case.....IX, 68
— on Smith, Gen. W. F..... VIII, 223
— on Weigand appointment... VIII, 231
Memphis, Tenn., Davis' services at.....VII, 267
— Douglas' speech at..... V, 121, 199
— joint movement on..VI, 333
— indorsement on church at.. X, 99, 148
— U. S. purchasing agency... X, 230
Menard Co., Ill., *see* Sangamon Co.
Menzies, John W., defeated.. IX, 62
— at White House..VII, 124
Mercer, Sam., Capt. order to.. VI, 238
Mercier, Henri, at Richmond. VIII, 214
Meredosia, Ill., Lincoln at.V, 90
"Merrimac" engages "Cumberland".....VII, 155
Merryman, E. H., instructions to .....I, 236
— charges against...VIII, 273
"Merey," assisted.....XI, 9
Messages, *see* Congress, House of Representatives, Senate.
Methodist conference, Lincoln's reply to.....VII, 163
Methodist church, division of III, 355; IV, 233; V, 55
— given to Ames.....X, 5
— modifying order on...X, 7
Methodist delegation, Lincoln's reply to.....X, 99
Mexican war, appropriation for .....V, 74
— Ashmun amendment on.... IV, 192
— burden of.....II, 30
— call for troops.....V, 74
— effect of acquisition of territory by.....IV, 40, 186
— L. on unconstitutionality of V, 73; VI, 35
— L.'s position on..... III, 210, 230; VI, 35

Mexican war (*contd.*)
— — speech on.....I, 327
— — support of, confirmed.... IV, 191
— — vote on.....V, 75
— origin of.....I, 327
— — justified.....II, 23
— Taylor's suggested position on.....II, 56
— vote on.....I, 327
— Whig party on.....II, 84
See also, Mexican War.
Mexico, alleged interference with .....VIII, 173
— American army in..VI, 35
— Ashmun's resolution sent to V, 75
— boundary claim of....I, 333
— condition of.....VII, 146
— Corwin's speech sent to.... V, 75
— possible invasion of..IV, 292
— race equality in.....III, 92
— record of Congressional vote sent to.....V, 75
— resolutions concerning..... I, 318
— revolution of Texans against II, 197
— Shields in.....IV, 12
— slavery in territory acquired from.....IV, 271, 293
— Texas affected by events in IX, 56, 64
— treaty with.....II, 200
— troops invade.....VI, 35
— Wilmot proviso and..IV, 12
"Miami," gunboat....VII, 155
Michigan, invited to visit.... VI, 100
— signature of papers for.... VII, 306
Middleburg, Va., firing near.. VIII, 328
Middle Dept., transferred to Halleck .....X, 176
Middleport "Press," article from .....VI, 8
Middleton, —, appeals for Abrams .....IX, 125
Mifflin, Thos., vote on slavery V, 296
Milderborger, John, telegram to.....IX, 206
Miles, Dixon S., Col., case of VII, 66
— movements of.....XI, 67
— telegram to.....VII, 178
Military academy, U. S., prejudice against....IX, 12
Military arrests, constitutional rights in..... VIII, 306, 307, 309
— — policy pursued in..... VIII, 290
— duty, evasion of....IX, 227
— emancipation, *see* Emancipation
— glory.....I, 341
— officers, *see* Army and Navy officers
— seizure, rule for....IX, 288
Militia, call for 42,034..VI, 263
— — of 75,000.....VI, 246

Militia (*contd.*)
— — 100,000.....VIII, 318
— discharge of three-months forces.....VI, 332
— Mo., enrollment in..... IX, 149, 163, 165
— — Gamble's plans for raising.....VII, 15
— organization of.....VII, 36
— Pa., called.....VIII, 23
— response to call for.VI, 305
— Tenn. refuses quota..... VI, 259
— Washington guarded by.... VII, 187
"Milk-and-water Lincoln resolutions" .....X, 113
Miller, Anson, appointed.... X, 183
Miller, J. W., Sen., on Cass.. II, 76
Miller, Jas., Treas. of Ill., letter to.....V, 133
Millersburg, Va., action near VIII, 330
"Milliken's Bend"....IX, 183
— Kirby's movements near.... VIII, 332
Mills, John T., interview.... X, 189
Milroy, Robt. H., Maj.-Gen., arrest of.....IX, 184
— character of.....IX, 266
— command under Grant..... IX, 266
— court of inquiry...IX, 184
— disobedience of.....IX, 184
Milroy, Robt. H. (*contd.*)
— exonerated.....IX, 184
— fears for.....IX, 184
— L.'s rebuke to.....IX, 11
— — opinion on loss of division.....IX, 183
— reports Lee's losses..... VIII, 270
— surrounded.....VIII, 315
Milton, John, quoted..IX, xxvi
Milwaukee, Wis., address at.. V, 236
Miner, Edw. G., letter to.... II, 355
Ministers, *see* Chaplains.
Minnesota, enabling act for.. III, 115
— Indian outbreak ..... VIII, 108, 139
— Indians sentenced..VIII, 92
— invitation to visit....V, 138
— rule on admission of..IV, 29
— Sioux Indian massacre..... VIII, 107, 133
Minnick, John R., execution stayed .....VIII, 245
Minority, rights of..... V, 7; VI, 318
— — to rebel.....I, 339
Mississippi, ceded.....V, 298
— free-labor in.....X, 27
— lynching in.....I, 38
— negroes organized in..... VIII, 175
— organized .....V, 299
— prohibits African slave-trade.....II, 245

Mississippi (*contd.*)
— Thirteenth amendment ratified.....X, 352
Mississippi, Dept. of, *see* Dept. of the Mississippi.
Mississippi River, communication with Atlantic..IX, 245
— "goes unvexed"...IX, 101
— negro troops recruited on.. IX, 37, 65
— opening of.....IX, 246
— — Bank's part in..IX, 56
— Thomas directs operations on.....X, 24
Missouri, admission of..... II, 169; V, 224
— affairs in.....XI, 38
— arrests in.....VIII, 171
— assassinations in.....X, 64
— assessments in....VIII, 171
— brigadiers assigned to, unfit VII, 77
— Cameron's letter on..... VI, 338
— civil authority in..VIII, 146
— negro troops in..... VIII, 191; IX, 148
— distress in.....VIII, 197
— election of 1864....X, 234
— emancipation plans of..... IX, 52, 246
— — gradual, defeated..... IV, 332, 354; V, 63, 334
— — letter to Schofield on.... VIII, 329
— enrolled militia, Schofield on IX, 148

Missouri (*contd.*)
— factions in..VIII, 276, 282
— Frémont in.....VI, 332
— French settlements in..... V, 224
— law-test for voters..IX, 197
— Lincoln family in..... II, 181; VI, 24
— L.'s position on.....II, 243
— loyal voters in.....IX, 198
— loyalty dependent on Ky.. VI, 360
— majority against Govt..... VII, 76
— military discipline in..... IX, 147
— militia law, question of..... VIII, 147, 153
— Moss' depredations..IX, 146
— outbreak in.....IX, 297
— party violence in...IX, 178
— peace in.....X, 340
— preservation of order in.... IX, 149
— Price invades..... VII, 76; X, 341
— property destruction in.... XI, 38
— provisional government in.. IX, 176
— provost-marshals, abuses of XI, 33, 35
— — orders to.....VIII, 187
— question of.....II, 169
— — raising troops in..... VI, 339; VII, 15
— Rosecrans in.....X, 63

Missouri (*contd.*)
— slavery contested....II, 196
— — increased .....V, 225
— — not permanent.....
VII, 123
— slaves, number of, 1860.....
VII, 133
— — trouble with..VIII, 184
— troops, status of....VIII, 90
— — German, trouble with...
VII, 85
— Union men banished from..
IX, 146
— voting in.....IX, 149
See also, Dept. of the Missouri
Missouri Compromise, destruction of.....II, 283
— disregarded.....IV, 205
— Douglas' position on.....
VIII, 293
— — reversal on.....V, 210
— history of.....II, 192
— hope of Clay in...III, 104
— repeal of.....
II, 190; IV, 8, 37, 38, 187; VI, 37
— — arguments for...II, 208
— — arouses L.....
III, 174; V, 288
— — opposition to....II, 305
— — Chicago papers on.....
VIII, 293
— Robertson's part in..II, 279
See also, Compromise
Missouri "Democrat," editorial in.....VI, 83
Missouri legislature, interference with.....IX, 264
Missouri "Republican," Lincoln-Crittenden correspondence in.....V, 90
— Douglas' speech in..IV, 66
Mitchell, —, Gen., nomination VIII, 232
Mitchell, J., Rev., Commissioner .....VIII, 1
Mitchell, S. Weir, "Lincoln" II, 15
Mobile, Ala., blockaded.....
XI, 80
— Naval victory.....X, 211
— salute ordered.....X, 214
Mobile Bay, Ala., orders to officer in command...X, 260
Mob law, horrors of.....I, 39
Modesty of Lincoln,.....
I, ix; V, 95, 138, 286; VI, 122, 128, 133, 135, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 153, 154, 162; VIII, xxi; XI, 117
Mohammed Pacha, letter to..
VII, 7
Molina, Don Luis, minister..
IX, 261
Molonoy, R. S.,.....IV, 78
— candidate.....IV, 47
Monarchy, ulterior aim of Confederate leaders .....
VII, 56; X, 51
Money, constant circulation of I, 103
— people withheld from use of I, 102

Money (*contd.*)
— reduction of quantity..I, 103
— valuable only in circulation I, 102
See also Banks, Finance, Greenbacks, Loans, Money, Public Money, Treasury.
Money lending at exorbitant rates .....I, 6
Monocacy, inquiry on..X, 154
— Wallace defeated at..X, 156
Monroe Co., Ill., fear of Republican party to use name in .....IV, 10
— "Free Democracy of"..... IV, 10, 171
— Trumbull in.....IV, 176
Monroe, Jas., Pres., opposed to slavery.....V, 358
Montgomery, Wm., bill of.. V, 118
Moody, S. B., appointment of VIII, 12
Moore, C. H., introduces Lincoln .....III, 350
Moore, Thos. P., case of.... I, 258
Moore, Treadwell, Capt.,.... VIII, 292
Moorefield, Va., Fremont at.. VII, 195
— — waits orders at..VII, 196
Moorhead, J. K., telegram to VIII, 325
Morality, plea for.....I, 50
Moreau, A. B.,.....XI, 100
Morehead, —,.....VII, 6
Morgan, E. D., Gov. of N. Y., letter to.....VI, 101
— position on Asst. Treas.... X, 138
— reply to.....VI, 138
— requested to see Pres..... VI, 286
— requests L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 249
— telegram to.....VII, 254
Morgan, Geo. D., acts for Navy Dept.,.....VII, 191
Morgan, Geo. W., Brig.-Gen., moves command..... VIII, 55, 71
Morgan, R. P., letter to..... II, 289
"Morning Light," vessel.... VII, 134
Morrill bill, *see* Tariff.
Morril, L. M., on House reorganization .....IX, 191
Morris, E. Joy, proposed minister .....VI, 267
Morris, Geo. U., thanks to... VIII, 138
Morris, Gouveneur, opposes slavery .....V, 304
Morris, Hen. M., Capt., thanks to .....VI, 161
Morris, I. N., letter to..... VI, 87; IX, 94, 125
Morris Island, S. C., batteries on.....VIII, 246, 248
— DuPont at.....VIII, 246
Morris, Jas. R., letter to.... IX, 1

Morris, Martin M., letter to.. I, 262, 265
Morris, Robt., vote on slavery V, 297
Morris, W. M., letter to V, 124
— invites L.....V, 124
Morrison, J. L. D., Col., candidate.....II, 105, 111
— deserts L.....II, 275
— services in Mexican war... II, 85
Morrison, W. R., Col., letter to .....VIII, 72
Morrow, R., letter to..IX, 63
Morse, John T., opinion.... I, xxii
Morton, Mary E., confiscation of property....IX, 287
Morton, O. P. Gov. of Ind., demands seizure of Owensboro, Ky.....VI, 357
— desires soldiers to remain for November elections..X, 242
— letter to on defense of Indiana.....VII, 1
— offers cavalry regiment... VI, 292
— ordered to forward regiments.....VI, 343
— requests L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 250; X, 83
— telegrams to VII, 242; VIII, 35, 210; IX, 35; X, 106
Moss, —, Col., depredations of IX, 146
Mott, Gresham, Maj.-Gen., brevetted .....X, 187
Moulton, —., complaint against .....IX, 49
Mountain Department, *see* Department of the Mountain.
Mount Jackson, Va., Fremont at.....VII, 24, 27
— preference for....VII, 216
"Mud march".....VIII, 177
"Mud-sill theory" of labor, *see* Labor.
Mulattos, number in 1850.... III, 355
— — in free and slave States II, 335; III, 356
— — in N. H.....III, 355
— — in Va.....III, 356
— slavery cause of....II, 336
Muller, Jas. N., candidate.... VI, 269
Murfreesboro, Tenn., operations near....VIII, 183, 185
— Rosecrans at.....VIII, 173
Murillo, Manuel, recognition of .....VIII, 188
Murphy, Isaac, Gov. of Ark., congratulated .....X, 85
— Steele cooperates with..... IX, 304
—telegrams to....X, 37, 43, 49
Murphy, John, pardoned..... IX, 166
Murray, Bronson....VII, 290
Murray, Thos. K., affidavit in Wright case.....IX, 120
Myers, Clemence J., clerkship for .....X, 178

N

Naper, —, Capt.,.....IV, 50
Naperville, Dem. Dist. conv., 1850 .....IV, 50
Naples, Ill. Lincoln at..VI, 46
Napoleon, Lafayette's boast to .....IX, vii
— compared to L.....I, x
Nashville, Tenn., Buell's movement toward.....VII, 73
— — position on ...VII, 106
— citizens of Tenn. made to move north of.....X, 93
— Confederate defense of.... VII, 106
— Grant at.....X, 41
— police corps at....VIII, 255
— railroad to Louisville in Federal hands.....VII, 4
— report of finding of Todd's body.....VIII, 183
— strategical importance of... VII, 73
— surrounded by disloyal people.....VII, 73
— Thomas at.....X, 251, 315
— U. S. purchasing agency at X, 230
Nashville "Press,".....X, 21
Natchez, Miss., blockade..... XI, 80
National banks, circulation of VIII, 193
— influence of.....I, 25
— number organized...X, 294
— proposed system of..... II, 264, 301; X, 294
National (*contd.*)
— public credit supported by.. IX, 233
See also, Banks; State Banks; United States Bank.
National census, population shown by.....VII, 59
National debt, increase in.... I, 248
— incurred by Civil War..... X, 127
— part of, due to Texas debts VI, 317
— seceding States obligated in VI, 317
— suggested position of Taylor on.....II, 55
See also, Public debt.
"National debt," Lincoln's own .....I, 316
National Democracy, Douglas repudiates.....IV, 265
National Democrats, convention of.....IV, 42
National Fast Day, proclamations appointing..... VI, 341; VIII, 235
National government, duty on currency.....VII, 232
"National Intelligencer," sale of negroes in.....VIII, 257
National Union League, reply to.....X, 122
Nationalization of slavery. *See* Slavery.
Native Americans, support of II, 27

Naturalization, abuse of.... IX, 228
— laws, Republican position on VI, 19
— L.'s views of Mass. law on V, 129
— proof of to be required on demand .....IX, 228
— proposed plan to register... IX, 228
Naval Academy, U. S., appointment to.....IX, 91
— officers; *see,* Army and Navy
— services of.....IX, 239
Navy, U. S., act to further efficiency of.....VII, 104
— Army to co-operate with... VII, 118
— Cushing, Lt. Wm. B., thanks of Congress to.....X, 281
— Dahlgren, John A., Com. thanks of Congress to..... VII, 267
— Davis, Capt. Chas. Hen., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 267
— destruction of "Alabama".. X, 280
— efficiency of.....X, 296
— Foote, Capt. Andrew H., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 253
— general exhibit of, 1864.... X, 296
— increase of..... VI, 264; IX, 238; X, 290, 296
Navy, U. S. (*contd.*)
— introduction of additional grades in.....VII, 37
— Lardner, Capt. John L., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 267
— message on payment of.... VIII, 192
— number of vessels, 1863.... IX, 236
— observance of Sunday in... VIII, 77
— pensioners of.....X, 301
— Porter, Com. David D., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 267; VIII, 208
— rank of Vice-Adm. created X, 297
— report of Sec. of...X, 296
— registration of Southern officers.....VI, 321
— Rowan, Com. Stephen C., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 267
— scattered at beginning of war.....VI, 298
— Stringham, Capt. Silas H., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 268
— "Uncle Sam's web-feet".... IX, 101
— Winslow, Capt. John A., thanks of Congress to.... X, 280
See also, Commercial marine; Navy Department; Welles, Gideon.

Navy Department, U. S., directions to.....VII, 190
— disbursements of..... VIII, 103; X, 292, 297
— Evarts, Wm. M., empowered to act for.....VII, 191
— N. Y. Naval Brigade at Fortress Monroe..XI, 131
— Welles' conduct of..XI, 128
Navy yards, changes in..... IX, 237
Nebraska, admission of..... II, 236; IV, 75; V, 10
— application of Mo. Comp. to II, 203, 204
— Democratic need of Sen. from.....II, 268
— Douglas' bill to organize... III, 203
— L.'s interest in.....XI, 100
— "popular sovereignty" in... XI, 106
— Republican plans for..... III, 206
— slavery in.....II, 195, 204
— Territorial government..... II, 204
— veto of act prohibiting slavery in, condemned..... VI, 18
— violence in.....II, 239
See also, Douglas, S. A.; Kansas-Nebraska Bill; Lecompton Constitution; Nebraska bill.
Nebraska bill, agitation caused by .....IV, 232
Nebraska bill (*contd.*)
— appropriation of.....V, 231
— Chase's amendment to..... III, 267, 285
— conspiracy in..... III, 8, 264, 265, 284; IV, 219
— Crittenden on.....V, 45
— Douglas instructed to introduce.....III, 42
— — introduces ..... III, 55, 203; IV, 187
— — — to "settle slavery question forever" ..... IV, 187, 188
— — orders Ill. legislature to approve.....II, 286
— effect of..... III, 337; IV, 213, 231
— — on slavery in Territories IV, 220
— excitement caused by..IV, 5
— L.'s anxiety for defeat of.. II, 187
— — position on.....II, 283
— not modeled on New Mexico and Utah bills.....IV, 273
— origin of..... III, 236; IV, 231; VI, 105
— pro-slavery measure..II, 316
— provision of, as to slavery.. III, 299; IV, 217
— reasons for Douglas' vote against.....III, 267
— source of strength of, in Ill. II, 306
— structure of.....II, 238

Nebraska bill (*contd.*)
— test of party fidelity..II, 188
— unrest caused by..III, 174
— Violence of.....II, 283
See also, Douglas, S. A.; Kansas-Nebraska bill; Lecompton Constitution.
Nebraskaism, definition of... IV, 231
Negro, betterment of..... XI, 130, 131
— Cameron advises arming of X, 66
— camps for.....IX, 301
— Confederates arm..... XI, 55, 56
— children, education of..... IX, 56
— citizenship of.....IV, 256
— — Douglas opposed to..... III, 216
— — L. charged with advocating.....III, 93
— — — disapproves of..... IV, 184
— colonization of..... II, 206, 337; V, 11, 117; VII, 50; VIII, 1, 97; X, 36
— dehumanized ..... V, 42, 187, 350, 352; XI, 110
— Douglas disclaims kinship with.....III, 147
— — for, "as against crocodile".....V, 204
— — objects to citizenship for IV, 22, 181
— Douglas' estimate of..V, 273
Negro (*contd.*)
— enslavement of, effect upon whites .....IV, 224
— employed in Federal army.. VIII, 186
— equality, basis of reconstruction.....XI, 131
— — Douglas on.....IV, 254
— — universal feeling on.... II, 207
— franchise, conditional, in La. XI, 89
— — — Me.....III, 143
— freed by emancipation proclamation.....VIII, 155
— freedom of, impossible under Dred Scott decision... V, 177
— fugitives cared for..... VII, 258
— — Phelps report on..... VII, 258
— happiness of.....I, 179
— how reckoned in representation.....V, 48
— human rights of....II, 259
— illegal reasons for increase of.....II, 222, 223
— imported, Supreme Court on IV, 181
— impressment of..... X, 125; XI, 5
— incapable of self-government.....IV, 23, 181
— induced to assist Union.... X, 195
— inferiority of.....III, 217

Negro (*contd.*)
— laborers in U. S. service... IX, 247
— — competition of..... VIII, 126
— liberality in La. to..X, 268
— L.'s address on colonization of.....VIII, 1
— L. attacked by.....VI, 28
— — on equality of..... II, 229; III, 355; IV, 89; V, 3, 87
— miscegenation with, in Ill... IV, 91
— number of free, in U. S.... II, 225
— — U. S. Army..... IX, 246; X, 190
— order of retaliation to protect.....IX, 48
— physical difference of..... IV, 90
— position of parties on..... II, 338
— power to make citizen of... IV, 185
— proportion of....VIII, 127
— problem of.....II, 207
— re-enslavement of..... X, 191, 195
— relations of whites with... III, 187; V, 351; VIII, 127
— rights of.....III, 186
— share in Dec. of Ind..... V, 187, 201, 270
— Sickles investigates condition of.....X, 9
Negro (*contd.*)
— slavery of, in Kansas.IV, 205
— — an evil.....XI, 108
— — not necessary condition of.....IV, 24
— soldiers, duty to....XI, 130
— — question of pay, clothing and bounty to.....X, 133
— status of, in Ill.....IV, 25
— — under Dred Scott decision ..... II, 319; III, 6, 7; IV, 232, 233; V, 2, 3
— — in Ky.....IV, 25
— — La.....X, 267
— — Me.....IV, 26
— — N. Y.....IV, 25
— suffrage, opposed by Douglas.....IV, 26
— — — L.....V, 145
— Supreme Court of Va. denies freedom to....III, 175
— troops; *see,* Troops, U. S.; Negro.
— unwilling to emigrate..... VIII, 98
See also, Colonization; Freedmen; Inter-State slave trade; Slavery; Slaves, etc.
Negro-worshippers, Republicans so called.....V, 186
Nelson, Dav., seeks office.... VIII, 71
Nelson, Thos. A. R., answer to .....X, 248
Nelson, Wm., Gen., inquiry to VIII, 20

Netherlands, King of the, arbitrator .....VI, 221
Neutrality, violation of..... XI, 127
— — to be avoided....XI, 127
Nevada, admission of..... VII, 48; X, 257, 298
— commended.....VII, 138
— mineral resources in..... IX, 230
"New Almaden" mine, case of.....IX, 85, 86
Newbern, N. C., blockade of.. XI, 80
— difficulties of Westcott at.. VIII, 234
— salute ordered at....X, 214
Newell, W. A., Gov., appeal of .....IX, 125
— letter to.....VIII, 258
New England, blamed..V, 319
— Butler proposes to raise troops in.....VI, 352
— L.'s canvass in.....II, 89
— the Lincolns of.....V, 287
— loss of trade to.....V, 363
— poor soil of.....V, 361
— search for Cabinet member from.....VI, 86
— share of, in opening Mississippi .....IX, 398
— wealth of.....V, 361
New Granada, constitution of VIII, 189
— convention with..VIII, 189
— revolutionary war in..... VIII, 190
New Granada (*contd.*)
— treaty with U. S..VIII, 188
New Hampshire, abolition in V, 8
— Butler proposes to raise troops in.....VI, 352
— draft of.....XI, 7
— free-negro vote in...II, 326
— governor of, requests L. to call for volunteers.VII, 249
— movement against fugitive-slave law in.....V, 131
— mulattos in.....III, 355
— papers of, signed by L..... VII, 306
— Presidential election in.... X, 306
— S. C. contrasted with..... III, 214
New Haven, Conn., speech at V, 339
New Jersey, abolition in..V, 8
— college of, confers degree.. X, 326
— contested election in.I, 258
— free-negro vote in...II, 326
— governor of, requests L. to call for volunteers.VII, 249
— opposition in.....VI, 153
— Parker, gov. of.....IX, 35
— Presidential election in.... X, 306
— proposed new regiments from.....IX, 48
— share in opening Mississippi IX, 398
— tax commissions for.VIII, 10

New Jersey (*contd.*)
— troops accepted from..... VI, 333
— — backwardness in raising IX, 35
— — quota of.....IX, 36
— — raised in.....IX, 42
— trouble with provost-marshal in.....VIII, 258
New Jersey Legislature, address to.....VI, 150, 152
— invitation to.....VI, 106
Newland, —, contested election case.....I, 258
New Mexico, admission of... IV, 75; V, 11
— Barrett ordered to.VII, 139
— compromise on.....IV, 271
— Indian disturbances in..... IX, 231
— mineral resources of..... IX, 230
— proposed slavery in..... II, 93; VI, 104
— route to, endangered..... IX, 297
— Scates, Chief Justice of.... XI, 60
New Orleans, La., Banks ordered to.....X, 279
— blockade raised..... VII, 158; XI, 79
— Bouligny surveyor for..... VII, 278
— Bullitt collector of..... VIII, 152
— Butler ordered to.VIII, 203
New Orleans (*contd.*)
— Canby at.....X, 186
— capture of....VII, 161, 245
— Constitutional convention at X, 268
— Dennison collector of..... IX, 283
— — excepted from declaration of rebellion..VIII, 156, 241
— first flat-boat trip to.VI, 28
— military supremacy in..... X, 268
— Porter's services at..... VII, 267
— salute ordered at....X, 214
— second flat-boat trip to..... VI, 30
— taken by Farragut and Butler.....VII, 294
— Twiggs' sword sent from... VII, 142
— U. S. purchasing agency at X, 230
New Orleans "Picayune"... VIII, 73
Newport, Ky., salute ordered at.....X, 214
Newport News, Burnside at.. VII, 277
Newport, Vt., port of entry... X, 198
New Salem, Ill., Lincoln's arrival at.....V, 288
— — concern in mill at...I, 4
— — employment in...VI, 30
— — postmastership at.VI, 32
— — residence at.....VI, 32

Newspaper, recommendation of .....X, 131
New York City, address at... VI, 145
— Asst. Treas. appointed at.. X, 137
— Barney's removal....X, 139
— Chase, letter to, on Custom House at.....X, 6
— Cooper Institute address... V, 293
— Dennison special naval officer at.....VI, 274
— Dix for Mayor of..IX, 202
— Douglas in.III, 159; IV, 215
— draft riots in....VIII, 266
— Freedman's Aid Society in IX, 263
— Hillhouse, Thos., appointment of.....X, 138
— Hogeboom, Judge, general appraiser at.....X, 139
— Irish troops raised in..... VIII, 322
— mass-meetings at..... VII, 278; X, 112
— Mayor of, reply to..... VI, 149
— opposition of Sen. Morgan to appointment of Field at X, 137
— recruiting in.....VII, 298
— reduction of quotas in.X, 23
— reply to Workingmen's Association of.....X, 50
— revision of enrollments in.. X, 22
New York City (*contd.*)
— salute ordered at....X, 214
— Seward at.....VII, 243
— spurious proclamation circulated in.....X, 103
— sub-treasury proposed at... I, 116
— Vanderbilt presents ocean steamer.....VII, 279
— Webb proposed for appraiser at.....VI, 273
New York "Day Book," issue revealed by.....IV, 200
New York "Evening Post," complaint of.....X, 136
— speech to Ind. regiment from.....VII, 164
New York "Herald," canard in .....VI, 51, 53
— correspondent of, excluded VIII, 230
— exhibition in.....VI, 9
New York "Journal of Commerce," imprisonment of publisher of.....X, 103
New York legislature, address to.....VI, 139
— invitation to.....VI, 105
New York Naval Brigade, transportation of..... VI, 289; XI, 131
New York Navy Yard, arms steamers .....VII, 190
New York Regiment, 189th, address to.....X, 252
New York State, abolition of slavery in.....V, 8

New York State (*contd.*)
— call for 12,000 militia..... X, 143
— canals in, enlarged..... VIII, 109
— Democratic divisions in.... II, 88
— — victory in.....I, 256
— Douglas' campaign tactics in VI, 51
— — strength in.....VI, 52
— drafting in.....IX, 92
— effort to carry.....VI, 52
— free-negro vote in...II, 326
— German troops of..VI, 273
— governor of, requests L. to call for volunteers.VII, 249
— Hunt movement in....**VI, 52**
— locks of canals in, to be enlarged.....VII, 219
— negro suffrage in...III, 220
— Presidential election in.... X, 306
— reduction of quotas for draft in.....X, 23
— Republican convention of 1854 in.....IV, 5
— revision of enrollments in.. X, 22
— Seymour, Gov., asks suspension of draft in.....IX, 52
— share in opening of Mississippi.....IX, 398
— status of negro in..... III, 99; IV, 25
New York "Times," Douglas' speech in.....V, 293
New York "Times" (*contd.*)
— Lincoln's gratitude to..... VII, 119
New York "Tribune," correspondents of, detained..... VIII, 290
— error of in regard to Texas boundary .....II, 53
— on Douglas and Republicans III, 120
— "The Prayer of Twenty Millions" in.....VIII, 15
— question of gradual emancipation in.....VII, 123
— vote of Republican Congressmen explained by..... III, 62; V, 119
New York "World," imprisonment of publisher..X, 103
Niagara Falls, notes for lecture on.....II, 138
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Confederate commissioners at..... X, 170
Nicaragua, difficulties with... IX, 227
— reply to minister from..... VI, 222
Nicolay, John G., letter of, to Hay .....X, 113
— — Judge Lee.....VII, 211
— on L.'s literary style.I, xiv
— private secretary to L..... VII, 211
— telegram to.....X, 247
Nichols and Crosby, letter to IX, 284

Nichols, Edw. T. Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress. VII, 162
Nicholson letter, writer of.. II, 77; XI, 106
"Niles Register," Nicholson letter in.....II, 77
— L. refers to.....I, 334
Noble, Warren P., letter to.. IX, 1
Noell, —, of Mo., on emancipation .....VII, 123
Noggle, Chas. L., cashiered.. VII, 308
Nolin Creek, Ky., Lincoln born on.....VI, 39
Norfolk, Va., blockade raised.. X, 272
— capture of.....VII, 245
— Crumpton executed at..... X, 74
— destitution in.....IX, 62
— military occupation of..... X, 322
— "Monitor's" passage to.... VII, 129
— order concerning blockade at.....VIII, 74
— re-opening of port of..... X, 288
— seizure of Navy Yard at.. VI, 306
— Sigel in command at..... VII, 209
— U. S. purchasing agency at X, 230
— Wright, Dr., tried at..... IX, 114
North, arrayed against South.. III, 222
— divided sentiment in. VI, 213
— electoral strength of...V, 7
— L. underrated by..VII, xvii
— moral principle in...II, 303
— negro troops raised in..... VIII, 288
— new hope in.....VII, 89
— numerical superiority of... V, 220
— responsibility of for slavery VIII, 120
— position on slave trade..... III, 226
— Presidential greed in..... II, 306
— reason for negro immigration to.....VIII, 128
— sectionalism alleged of..... II, 306
— slavery question in. VII, 127
— Southern opinion of. VI, 216
"North American Review," article in.....IX, 284
North Anna, Grant on..X, 107
North Carolina, acts of rebellion in.....VI, 257
— cession of Tenn..... II, 193; V, 298
— contested election case in.. I, 258
— declared in insurrection.... VI, 346; VII, 251; VIII, 156, 161, 240, 241
— Federal recruiting in..... VI, 356

North Carolina (*contd.*)
— — sentiment in....VII, 54
— free-negro vote in...II, 326
— Lincoln family in..... II, 180; VI, 24
— N. Y. meeting for..VII, 20
— order to employ contrabands in.....VII, 287
— ports of, blockaded..... VI, 257; IX, 135
— re-construction in..IX, 222
— Rowan's services in..... VII, 267
— Stanley gov. of....VII, 212
— Union sentiment in..... VI, 195, 305
Northampton County, Va., paroles in.....IX, 90
— lays down arms....VII, 54
See also, Accomac County, Va.
Northwest Territory, acquirement of.....V, 223
— Jefferson on government in V, 167, 168
— Indian outbreak in..... VIII, 215
— slavery in.....II, 194
— — prohibited in....XI, 109
— States formed from.II, 193
— Va. original owner of..... V, 224
Norton, —, fraud upon..... II, 272; III, 308; IV, 280, 385.
Norton, J. O., signs call for Whig convention....II, 154
Norton, Milt. D., discharge.. X, 257
Norway; *see* Sweden and Norway.
Norwich, Conn., Lincoln at.. VI, 1
Nueces Desert, property of Mexico .....VI, 36
— Taylor's march across..... II, 24
Nueces River, boundary question of.....I, 331
Nullification question, Clay's part in.....II, 170, 171
— disturbing element....V, 78
— slavery at bottom of..V, 54
— Whigs aid in suppression of V, 20
Nullification rebellion, how checked .....VI, 215

O

"O Captain, My Captain" by Walt Whitman...IX, lxv
Oaks, —, Col., reports riots... X, 168
Oath of allegiance, administration of...IX, 303; X, 333
— prisoners take.....X, 44
Occoquan River, movement on .....VII, 94
O'Conner, Hen., letter to.... II, 299
Ocracoke, N. C., blockaded.. XI, 80
Odell, M., finds Fowler..... X, 178

Officers; *See* Army and Navy officers.
Official duty, view of. VIII, 16
Offutt, Denton, contract of.. VI, 30
— employs L. ..... VI, 29
— failure of ..... VI, 31
Oglesby, R. I., Gen., inquiries about ..... VIII, 56
Ohio, Democrats defeated.... V, 335
— — Douglas aids..... V, 140
— election, 1863..... IX, 169
— — 1864..... X, 241
— invitation to..... V, 138
— movement to repeal fugitive-slave law..... V, 132
— national guard, services of X, 220
— Republican party, L. called to aid..... V, 140
— — State convention, 1859, platform of..... V, 136
— troops, call for 30,000..... VIII, 318
— — offers 30,000 infantry... X, 82
— — hundred-day, thanks to X, 219
— Vallandigham's arrest..... VIII, 278
Ohio delegation, reply to.... X, 121
Ohio legislature, address to.. VI, 121
— invitation of to make address to ..... VI, 107
Ohio regiment, remarks to... X, 123
— 12th, pardon for soldiers of X, 70
— 148th, address to.... X, 208
— 164th, address to.... X, 199
— 166th, address to.... X, 202
Ohio river, Morgan's defense of ..... VIII, 55
Ohio "Statesman," attacks L., ... V, 141
Okolona, enemy in... VII, 205
"Old horse turned out to root," ..... II, 70
"Old horses and military coat-tails" ..... II, 70
"Old Rough-and-Ready,"... II, 26
Old Sangamon, flatboat on... VI, 30
See also Sangamon river.
Old Whig party,..... V, 95
"Old Zach," L.'s interest in.. II, 50
— speeches on..... II, 50
Olden, Chas. S., Gov. of N. J. letter to..... VI, 106
— requests L. to call for volunteers..... VII, 249
Olustee, Fla., negro troops at X, 191
O'Neill, —, Capt.,..... X, 75
O'Neill, John, letter to.. IX, 1
Opdyke, Geo. letter to..... IX, 215
— money advanced by..... VII, 192

Opdyke, Geo. (*contd.*)
— recommends Dennison..... VI, 274
Oquawka, Ill., Lincoln at.... V, 94
Oporto, Portugal, exhibition at .....XI, 34
Oratory of Lincoln,..... I, xv, xvii
Ord, E. O. C., Gen., breaks Confederate lines....XI, 68
— dispatches messenger, X, 348
— engagement of.....XI, 67
— Hampton Roads conference XI, 13, 14, 15
— Stanley's execution suspended.....X, 344
— telegram to.....XI, 59
Ordinance of '87..... II, 194; III, 141; V, 167; XI, 109.
— adoption of.....V, 209, 296
— how lost.....V, 168
— slavery prevented in Northwest Territory by...II, 250
— — resisted by.....V, 184
— — spread by.....V, 263
— States admitted under..... V, 169
— violation of.....V, 170
Ordinance of secession, in Louisiana .....VII, 294
— — proposed repeal of..... IX, 203
Oregon, admission of..III, 295
— vote of Trumbull on..... III, 294
Oregon (*contd.*)
— boundary question of.VI, 36
— commission as Sec. of, declined by L.....II, 130
— division of.....II, 257
— governorship of, offered L. II, 129
— political situation of.VI, 57
Orr, Jas. L., Speaker of House IV, 359
— on Kan.-Neb. bill....VI, 24
— on slave code.....IV, 359
Orsini, attempted assassination of.....V, 319
Orth, G. S., telegram to X, 241
Osgood, —, deserts L..II, 275
Osterhaus, P. J., objection to X, 174
Ottawa, Ill., debate with Douglas at.....III, 200
"Our Heroic Themes," by Geo. Hen. Boker..VIII, liii
Owen, Robt. Dale, introduced XI, 116
— presents cavalry....VI, 292
Owen, —, dismissed.....X, 45
Owens, Mary, letter to,..... I, 17, 52, 55
Owens, Sam. A. release of... X, 278
Owensboro, Ky., seizure of... VI, 357

P

Pacific Railroad; *see* Union Pacific Railroad.
Paddock, Orville, indorsement of.....II, 115

Paducah, Ky., gunboat ordered from.....VI, 357
Paine, E. A., recommended by Lincoln .....V, 94
Palmer, —,.....II, 275
Palmer, John M., Gen.,..... IV, 16
— letter to...II, 187; III, 199
— telegram to for exact copy of order.....XI, 40
Palmerston, H. J., Temple, Viscount, Prime Minister of Eng., L. compared with.... VIII, xlviii
Pamunkey River, troops on.. VII, 177
Panizzi, Ant., librarian..... VIII, 146
Paraguay, relations with..... X, 285
Pardon, to deserters....XI, 51
See also, Amnesty; Clemency; Prisoners.
Paredes, Mariano, in Mexican war.....II, 24
Paredes, Victariano de Diego, charge d' affaires..... VIII, 189
Paris, Ill., fragments of speech at on Nebraska bill..XI, 105
Parke, John G., Gen., breaks Confederate lines....XI, 68
— Hampton Roads conference XI, 13
Parker, Joel, Gov. of N. J., appeal of.....IX, 125
— letter to.....IX, 13
— — on draft.....IX, 42
Parker, Joel (*contd.*)
— N. J., letter on raising troops in.....IX, 35
Parks, —, Judge.....II, 272
Parole of prisoners; *See* Prisoners.
Parrott, —, friendship of.... VI, 7
Parrott gun, letter to Hooker on .....VIII, 296
Parsons, Geo. M., interested in publishing Ohio speeches V, 289
— letter to.....V, 285
Partizanship, complaint of... I, 176
Party exigency, requirements of .....II, 79
Paschall, N. P., letter to..... VI, 70
Passage of lines, for Southern products .....XI, 37
Patent, application of Lincoln for .....II, 120
— office, decline in receipts of VII, 45
Paterson, Wm., vote on slavery .....V, 297
Patrick, —, Gen., Baldwin referred to.....X, 201
Patriotism of Lincoln praised VII, 127
Patriots, value of.....X, 264
Patten, Geo.....VIII, 146
Patten, Geo. Evans, letter to XI, 119
Patterson, Robt., Maj.-Gen., force strengthened..VI, 332

Patuxent River landings, negro troops at.....IX, 179
"Pawnee," steamer....VI, 226
Paxton, E. F., Gen., death reported .....VIII, 263
Paymasters, temptations of... VIII, 227
Paymaster-General, letter to X, 134
Pay-system in the Army..... VIII, 227
Peabody, Chas. A., Judge in La. .....VIII, 65
Peace, announcement on terms of .....X, 161
— desire for..... VI, 161, 164; IX, 101
— L.'s terms of.....XI, 31
— memoranda on.....XI, 71
— proposals for.....X, 204
— prospect of.....X, 159
— secured by gradual emancipation.....VIII, 124, 129
Pearce, J. A., Sen., appeal of VII, 237
"Pearl," British vessel...X, 18
Pearl River, Miss., blockade.. XI, 80
Peay, —, Mrs., message to.... I, 180
Peck, —,.....II, 291
Peck, —, Gen., telegram to... VIII, 333
Peck, J. M., Rev., letter to.... II, 23
Peekskill, N. Y., address at,.. VI, 145
Peirpoint, F. H., Gov. of Va., called to Washington.XI, 78
— confidence in..... IX, 63; X, 321
— conference with Foster.... IX, 62
— letter to.....IX, 131
— requests L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 250
— telegrams to..... VIII, 26; X, 182
Pemberton, John C., Gen., defeated.....VIII, 281
Pendleton, Edw., on slave trade .....VIII, x
Pendleton, Geo. H., letter to IX, 1
Pennsylvania, abolition in.... V, 8
— delegation, reply to.XI, 116
— Democratic defeat in.V, 335
— election 1863.....IX, 169
— — 1864.....X, 241
— factions in.....VI, 54
— guarded.....VIII, 261
— invasion of..... VIII, 25; XI, 40
— legislature, address to..... VI, 162
— — invitation to....VI, 109
— Lincoln family in..... II, 15; V, 287; VI, 24, 57
— militia called out..... VIII, 23, 318
— — loyalty of.....VI, 99
— private messengers pass through.....VII, 192

Pennsylvania (*contd.*)
— raid in.....VIII, 261, 322
— Republicans, importance of, to.....V, 257
— Reserve Corps presents Meade with sword..IX, 106
— telegram to Curtin on safety of.....VIII, 257
— troops, Curtin asks for.... VIII, 25
Pensacola, Fla., blockaded.... X, 272
— re-opening of.....X, 288
— salute ordered.....X, 214
— U. S. purchasing agency at X, 230
Pension office, demands on, increased .....VII, 45
— rolls, additions to...X, 301
Pensions, disbursements, 1863 X, 292
— soldiers and sailors, payment of.....X, 301
— suspension of.....VII, 45
People, authority of....V, 279
— faith in.....V, v
— rights of.....X, 50, 51
Peoria, Ill., speech at..... II, 191; III, 225
Perkins, Geo. F., sentenced.. IX, 189
"**Perry**," position of..VII, 215
Perrymans, John D., letter to X, 248
Person of Lincoln, Sumner's description of....IX, xxxix
"**Perthshire**," case of..VII, 32
Peru, claims of.....IX, 272
— efforts for peace....X, 285
— joint commission with..... IX, 226
— relations with U. S..X, 284
Petersburg, Va., action near.. XI, 64
— blockade of.....XI, 80
— evacuation of....XI, 70, 84
— Grant at.....XI, 67, 68
— L. visits.....XI, 70
Pettit, John., Sen., declarations of.....IV, 200
— Dec. of Ind. declared a lie V, 37
Peyton, Bailie, letter to..... X, 248
Pharasaism, warning against. XI, 117
Phelps, —, case of.....I, 153
Phelps, John S., U. S. Rep., raises troops.....VI, 339
Phelps, J. W., Gen., removal from La.....VII, 292
— report on fugitive negroes VII, 258
Philadelphia, Pa., address at.. VI, 159
— — in Independence Hall.. VI, 156
— anxiety on situation in.... VIII, 22
— Brooks, Phillips, sermon on L. at.....VI, v
— Lee's desire to capture.... IX, 28
— L. at.....XI, x

Philadelphia (*contd.*)
— Navy Yard to arm steamers to defend.....VII, 190
— negro troops raised in..... VIII, 331
— nomination of Taylor at.... II, 26
— partizanship of postmaster at.....X, 132
— reply to Mayor of...VI, 154
— Republican party, first national convention at..... IV, 311
— Sanitary Fair.....X, 109
— — L.'s speech at.....X, 127
— salute ordered.....X, 214
— Whig convention, 1847.... V, 76
Phillips, Wendell, abolition radical .....IV, 347
Phillips, John, letter to.X, 276
Phillips, Dr., nomination of.. IX, 44
Phillips, J. A., letter to..... VI,, 108
Piatt, John Jas., consulate for XI, 47
— "Sonnet in 1862"..V, xxxiii
"Picayune," *see* New Orleans.
Pickering, W., Gov. of Wy., telegram to.....X, 219
Pickett, Geo. E., letter to.... I, 191
Pickett, Thos. J., proposes Lincoln for presidency..... V, 127
— suspended.....VIII, 251
Pickett, Thos. J. (*contd.*)
— testimony against.....X, 80
Pickett's brigade, moving toward Tenn.....IX, 135
Pierce, Franklin, Pres. of the U. S.....II, 293
— Democratic nomination for Pres.....IV, 166
— high character of..III, 331
Pierce, H. L., invites L. to Boston .....V, 124
Pierrepont, Edwards, Hon., commissioner.....VII, 100
Pike, J. S., U. S. minister to Hague .....VII, 140
Pinckney, —, Prof.....II, 272
Pinckney, Chas., Constitutional Father.....V, 300
Piqua, O., Indian agency at... II, 81
Piracy, slave-trade so declared II, 246
See also, Privateers.
Pirates, capture of.....VII, 33
Pitts, —, Judge, of Eastern Va. .....X, 20
Pittsburg, Pa., address at.... VI, 124
— salute ordered.....X, 214
Platforms; *see* Political platforms.
Platt, P. W.,.....IV, 51
Pleasanton, —, Gen., dispatch from .....IX, 18
Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Beecher's sermon on Lincoln .....X, v

Plymouth church (*contd.*)
— L. invited to speak in..... V, 293; VI, 8
Plymouth, N. C., blockade of. XI, 80
— evacuation of.....X, 260
"Pocahontas," steamer, under sailing orders.....VI, 226
Poetry, difference between feeling and expression..... I, 291
— of L., estimate of...I, xvii
— on Matthew Gentry..I, 295
— on early Indiana life..I, 291
Point Lookout, Md., Com. of, sends prisoner to L..... IX, 272, 274
— discharge of prisoners at.. VIII, 167; XI, 129
Police Regulations in La.... VII, 295
Policy; *see* Expediency.
Political creeds, Douglas on.. IV, 11
— — must be uniform....V, 4
— education.....VI, 129
— equality ..... II, 207; III, 309; IV, 254; XI, 131
— excitement, 1860..... VI, 125, 130, 131, 155
— freedom.....VI, 120
— platform.....V, 276
— system, L. on.....V, 276
— powers, how derived..... VIII, 157
— principle.....V, 115
Political (*contd.*)
— sagacity of L..... VII, xvii, xxvi
— sentiments.....VI, 157
— toasts to L.....I, 14
— views of L.....I, 14
Politicians, character of..I, 27
Polk, Jas. K., Pres., attitude on Mexican War, etc..... I, 318, 327, 328, 330, 336, 338, 341, 342, 344.
— comparison with Kent..... II, 41
— internal improvement bills, objection to.....II, 68
— — position on.....II, 30
— — quotation on.....II, 38
— veto of.....II, 38, 67
— message May 11, 1846..... I, 318
— — Dec. 8, 1846.....I, 330
— nicknames of.....II, 73
See also, Mexico; Mexican War.
Pollock, Jas., letter to..VI, 344
Pomeroy, S. C., Sen., circular by .....X, 19, 29
— committee of.....X, 25
— complaints of .....IX, 40
— letter to.....X, 98
Pope, John, Maj.-Gen., achievements of...VII, 145
— British territory, instructed not to cross.....VIII, 244
— Bull Run disaster.....X, 3
— deportations of.....XI, 33
— Fisk investigated....XI, 35

Pope, John (*contd.*)
— in charge of Capital..... VII, 235
— McClellan's position, views on .....VII, 235
— provost-marshal system, investigates .....XI, 35
— — ordered to correct abuses of .....XI, 33
— St. Louis, assessments in.. XI, 48
— — society opposed to..... IX, 267
— telegram to, approving Mo. plan .....XI, 59
— — on conviction of Indians VIII, 73
— Whiting, release of..XI, 39
Pope, Nath., Judge, letter to.. II, 124
— resolutions on death..II, 135
Popular government, strength of .....X, 264
Popular sovereignty..III, 23
— African slave trade revived by .....V, 137
— danger to Republican party in .....V, 137
— definition of..... III, 161; V, 149
— destruction of.....III, 138
— domestic matters not related to.....III, 161
— Douglas on....III, 160, 162
— exercise of, in Ill..III, 141
— ill-feeling caused by..... III, 352
Popular sover'ty (*contd.*)
— L.'s contempt for..III, 184
— meaning of.....XI, 105
— plausibility of .....VI, 4
— Quixotism of.....III, 161
— real and false..V, 149, 261
— relation to slavery..III, 161
— slavery kept out of Kan. by III, 89
— — nationalized by...V, 137
Population of U. S..VIII, 121
— anticipated ..... VI, 160; VII, 59, 60
— from first to last census.... VII, 59
— in 1861.....VIII, 121
— increase rapid and inevitable.....V, 254
— increase of, to share burden of emancipation..VIII, 121
— ratio of increase by decades VIII, 122, 123
— slave, in 1850.....II, 220
Porter, —, in Fisher murder case .....I, 174
— letter to.....II, 278
Porter, D. D., Adm., confidential instructions to..VI, 232
— Ellet reports to....VIII, 73
— order to.....VI, 232
— thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162, 268; VIII, 208
— under orders of Navy Dept. VI, 272
Porter, Fitz-John, Gen.,..... VII, 157
— court-martialed...VIII, 186

Porter, Fitz-John (*contd.*)
— defeats Branch....VII, 195
— indorsement on sentence of VIII, 199
— questions and answers..... VII, 265
— relieved.....VIII, 73
Port Hudson, La., Bank's operations at..VIII, 291, 292
— negro troops at.....X, 191
Port Royal, N. C., purchasing agency at.....X, 230
Portsmouth, Va., destitution in .....IX, 62
Portugal, Barney, minister to X, 6
— cultivation of cotton.VII, 110
— Harvey, J. E., U. S. minister to.....V, 61
— invitation to Oporto exhibition.....XI, 34
Postal service, efficiency of... VIII, 105
— legislation for benefit of... VIII, 106
— treason in.....VII, 101
Postmaster-General, dismissal from Cabinet.....X, 157
— letter to.....II, 109
— — on post-master at Tiffin, O.....VII, 151
— report of, 1861.....VII, 43
— views of.....X, 297
See also, Blair, Montgomery.
Postmasterships, distribution of .....IX, 42
Post Office Dept., conduct of commended .....X, 229
— extravagance of.....I, 133
— improvement in...VIII, 104
— increasing business..IX, 239
— resignation of Blair.X, 228
— statistics of, 1861..... VIII, 104, 105
— — 1863.....IX, 240
— subscriptions through..... II, 4, 5
— summary of condition of.. VII, 43
Potomac Campaign, inquiries about .....VII, 24
Potomac River, Confederates cross .....IX, 22
— Jackson crosses..... VIII, 27, 28
— Lee's escape across.IX, 39
— McClellan begins to cross.. VIII, 68
See also, Army of the Potomac.
Potter, Howard, letter to.... XI, 42
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., address at .....VI, 142
— Douglass at.....IV, 169
Poverty of Lincoln..... I, 268; III, 209; IV, viii; V, x, 93, 138; VI, 32.
Powell, E. N., signs resolutions on death of Judge Nath. Pope.....II, 137
Powell, Lazarus W., Sen.,... VIII, 210, 211

Powell, L. W. (*contd.*)
— letter to.....VII, 95
Powers, political, how derived .....VIII, 157
"Powhatan," Porter in command of.....VI, 232
— ordered to prepare for sea.. VI, 233
Pratt, J. A., discharge of Bowen .....X, 256
"Prayer of Twenty Millions" VIII, 15; XI, xii
Preble, Geo. H., Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162
Preferment, L.'s love of..... IV, 214
Prentice, Geo. D., letter to... VI, 66
Presbyterian church, possession of.....X, 148
— differences in..... III, 355; IV, 233; V, 55
Presbyterian General Assembly, reply to..VIII, 287
President of the United States, Constitutional power of, on amnesty.....IX, 248
— nomination of L..... VI, 12; X, 117
— — acceptance of..... VI, 14; X, 136
— — due to speech.....XI, x
— position of, on internal improvements.....II, 39
— power of, to acquire territory.....IV, 292
President (*contd.*)
— representative of people.... II, 64
— responsibility of....VI, 160
— salary of compared to laborer's.....II, 37
— Senate free from control of V, 18
— unique task of L. as..... VI, 134, 140
"President's Policy, The," in "North American Review," by Jas. Russell Lowell..... IX, 284
Presidential candidate, opinions of, how approved.II, 65
Presidential elections; *see,* Elections, presidential.
Presidential electors; *see,* Electors, presidential.
Preston, —,.....II, 118
Preston, —, Maj.-Gen.,wounded .....IX, 137
Preston, Margaret, Mrs., telegram to.....VIII, 13
Preston, Wm. Ballard, on committee.....VI, 243
— treason of.....VIII, 305
Price, Margaret C., Mrs., son discharged .....X, 256
Price, Philemon B., discharge of .....X, 256
Price, Sterling, Maj.-Gen., Curtis engaged with..X, 259
— Halleck's operations against VII, 76
— Missouri raid of....X, 341

Price, Winifred E., Mrs., remains in Mo.....X, 345
Prices, effect of duties upon... I, 301
Prickett, —, execution suspended .....IX, 278
Priest, —, paid by L....I, 317
Principle, political, necessity of uniting upon.....V, 115
Prison depots, recruiting in.. X, 228
Prisoners, political, amnesty to .....VII, 100
— excluded from amnesty may apply for clemency...X, 59
— Order No 2, on....VII, 108
— released on parole.VII, 103
Prisoners of war from Corinth army.....VII, 260
— discharge of.VIII, 167; X, 44
— — in Tenn...VII, 212, 213
— — on representations..... XI, 50
— — taking oath.....XI, 50
— Halleck on parole of..... VIII, 53
— L.'s sympathy for..X, 40–48
Privateers, Confederate use of VI, 308
— treatment of.....VI, 283
See also, Blockade; Piracy; Prizes.
Prize courts, standing of..... IX, 225
Prize property, sale of.X, 296
Prizes, detention of crews of.. XI, 128
Prizes (*contd.*)
— number of.....IX, 236
— recapture of.....VII, 33
— value of.....IX, 236
Proclamation, admission of Nev., Oct. 31, 1864..X, 257
— — W. Va., Apr. 20, 1863.. VIII, 250
— on rebellion, July 25, 1861.. VII, 291
— aliens, May 8, 1863.VIII, 266
— amnesty, Mar. 26, 1864.... X, 58
— — and reconstruction, Dec. 8, 1863.....IX, 218
— — to soldiers, Mar. 10, 1863 VIII, 224
— blockade, Apr. 19, 1861.... VI, 248
— — Apr. 27, 1861....VI, 256
— — Feb. 18, 1864.....X, 14
— — Nov. 19, 1864....X, 272
— — Apr. 11, 1865....XI, 79
— by Gen. Hunter, May 17, 1862.....VII, 167
— — Gov. Johnson, Jan. 28, 1864.....X, 21
— call for 75,000 militia, Apr. 15, 1861.....VI, 246
— — volunteers, May 3, 1861 VI, 263
— — 300,000 volunteers, Oct. 17, 1863.....IX, 172
— — 500,000 volunteers, July 18, 1864.....X, 164
— — 300,000 volunteers, Dec. 19, 1864.....X, 316

Proclamation (*contd.*)
— commerce, Jan. 10, 1865.... X, 336
— commercial intercourse, Apr. 2, 1863.....VIII, 240
— — regulations, Aug. 18, 1864.....X, 197
— convening Senate, Feb. 28, 1863.....VIII, 219
— — Feb. 17, 1865....XI, 35
— on discriminating duties, Dec. 16, 1863.....IX, 260
— emancipation; *see* Emancipation Proclamation.
— Indiana, Mar. 17, 1865..... XI, 57
— intercourse with rebel States, Aug. 16, 1861..... VI, 345
— military emancipation revoked, May 19, 1862..... VII, 170
— national day of prayer, July 7, 1864.....X, 149
— — fast day, Apr. 12, 1861.. VI, 341
— — — Mar. 30, 1863..... VIII, 235
— — Thanksgiving day, July 15, 1863.....IX, 32
— — — Oct. 3, 1863..IX, 151
— — — Sept. 3, 1864..X, 211
— — — Oct. 20, 1864..X, 245
— opening of ports, Apr. 11, 1865.....XI, 82, 83
— — port of Alexandria, Va., Sept. 24, 1863.....IX, 135
Proclamation (*contd.*)
— — — Key West, Fla., Apr. 11, 1865.....XI, 81
— pardon to deserters, Mar. 11, 1865.....XI, 51
— raising blockade, May 12, 1862.....VII, 158
— reconstruction, July 8, 1864 X, 152
— suspending writ of habeas corpus, Sept. 24, 1862..... VIII, 41
— — Sept. 15, 1863...IX, 121
— — July 5, 1864.....X, 144
— — in Fla., May 10, 1861... VI, 271
— taxes in southern States, July 1, 1862.....VII, 251
— thanksgiving for victories, Apr. 10, 1862.....VII, 144
— U. S. vessels of war in foreign ports, Apr. 11, 1865... XI, 82, 83
— Washington's birthday, Feb. 19, 1862.....VII, 107
Products of insurrectionary States .....X, 230
Property, freedom to acquire.. V, 361
— public opinion based on.... V, 330
— rights of.....VII, 285, 288
— — respected.....X, 54
See also, Confiscation of property.
Prosperity, diffusion of..I, 245
Protection, discussion of.I, 300

Protection (*contd.*)
— suggested position of Taylor on.....II, 56
— supposed cases of....I, 302
— Whig views on.....I, 244
Protective War Claim Association, of the Sanitary Commission .....XI, 42
Protest against slavery, resolutions .....VI, 33
Providence, Lincoln's belief in I, 219; X, 280
— — trust in..... VI, 110, 119, 121, 123, 133, 151, 160, 183, 184; IX, xviii; X, 215; XI, 10
"Providencia," bark...VII, 88
Provost-marshal, abuses of,.. XI, 35
— control of churches by.X, 4
— outrages of.....XI, 33
— report of, on draft..IX, 103
— selection of, in O.VIII, 223
— trouble with N. J..VIII, 258
Prussian vessels, duties on... IX, 260
Pryor, Rog. A.,....V, 272, 358
— authorship of.....V, 215
— brought to Washington.... V, 215
— objections to exchange of.. XI, 39
— — re-imprisonment..XI, 40
Public address, Lincoln's last, Apr. 11, 1865.....XI, 84
Public credit, support of..... IX, 233
Public debt, in 1861,..VII, 34
— 1863.....X, 293 294
— interest on.....VIII, 103
— time as a reducer of..... VIII, 124
Public defense, organization of .....VII, 190
Public discussion, rights of.. VIII, 309
Public domain, right to..... II, 104
Public dues; *see* Currency.
Public improvements, advantage of.....II, 35
— inequality of.....II, 37
— Jefferson on.....II, 38
Public lands, Collamer on reserved sections of.....II, 18
— enhancement in value..... I, 109; II, 19
— grant of, to States..II, 101
— L.'s remarks on..II, 18, 101
— principle of disposal of.... IX, 241
— receipts from, 1861–1862... VIII, 103
— — 1863.....X, 292
— report of Secy. of Int..... VIII, 106
— — on purchase of.....I, 92
— sale of..... I, 15; VII, 45; VIII, 87; IX, 241; X, 299
— small parcels favored..... VI, 120
Public money, application of. II, 38, 39

Public money (*contd.*)
— expense of handling..I, 111
— L.'s plan to apportion.II, 47
— method of handling..I, 105
— profit of handling....I, 109
See also, Banks; Currency; Finance; Greenbacks; Loans; Money.
Public officers, benefit of..... I, 105
— defalcations of.....I, 113
Public opinion, authority of.. II, 310
— debauchery of..V, 189, 350
— dissatisfaction at loss of life in 1864.....X, 164
— during election of 1864.... X, 117
— government rests upon..... II, 310
— policy founded upon.V, 331
— property basis of....V, 330
— questions settled by..V, 331
— supreme force of...III, 252; IV, 222, 224; V, 188
Public order, maintenance of. VI, 92
Public property, in Confederate States.....VI, 299
Publicity, justice of.....I, 16
Puget Sound Company, claims of.....X, 40, 289
— Gunn appointed at..... VIII, 273
— Smith removed at.VIII, 270
Purnell, W. H., telegram to.. X, 269
Purple, Norman H., election case of.....I, 153
— endorses L.'s bill....II, 289
— signs resolutions on death of Judge Nath. Pope..... II, 136

Q

Quaker ancestry, Lincoln's.... II, 15; V, 286; VI, 24
Queen, Walt. W., Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162
Quincy, Ill., Douglas' reply at IV, 335
— L. at.....VI, 45
— L.'s rejoinder at....IV, 373
Quincy, Josiah, letter to..... IX, 118
Quito, Ecuador, convention signed at.....X, 40
Quoits, Lincoln's skill at.... III, 209

R

Race amalgamation, Douglas on .....III, 92
Radford, Reub., affidavit of.. I, 67
Raids, Confederate..VIII, 216
Railroad, to Washington, construction of.....VIII, 198
— to Springfield, expediency of I, 2
— near Knoxville, scheme to cut.....VII, 106
— military, possession of..... VII, 184

Railroad (*contd.*)
— between Richmond and Frederick, condition of.... VIII, 270
— speech on grants to.II, 101
Rails, Lincoln mauls...V, 361
Ramsey, —, Maj., note to.... XI, 120
Ramsey, Alex., Gov. of Minn., letter to.....VIII, 18
— requests L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 250
Randall, —, execution suspended .....XI, 37
Randall, A. W., Gov., suggests vacation for Lincoln.. X, 189
— transmits Robinson's letter to.....X, 193
Randolph, —, pardoned..X, 49
Randolph, Edm., Atty.-Gen., on U. S. Bank.....II, 60
Randolph, Geo. W., member of committee from Va. State convention .....VI, 243
Randolph, John, reports violation of Ordinance of '87.. V, 170
Randolph, W. M., pardoned.. X, 29
Rankin, Dav., transfer of.... I, 10
Ranney, Nat., in McPheeters case .....IX, 269
Ransom, Geo. D., Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162
Rapides Parish, La., destitution in.....X, 227
Rappahannock, advice to Hooker on.....VIII, 292
— Burnside's plan for crossing VIII, 165
— gunboats on.....VIII, 89
— Hooker's retreat across.... VIII, 263
— McDowell on.....VII, 147
— transportation provided on. VII, 213
— troops on.....VIII, 213
Rappahannock Station, Va., Meade's success at..IX, 204
Ravillac, fate of.....IX, lvi
Rawley, Geo. A., cashiered... VII, 308
Ray, C. H., Dr.,.....II, 357
— elected .....II, 271
— letter to.....XI, 111
— reports debates....XI, 112
Raymond, Hen. J., letter to.. VI, 74
— explanation of Greeley correspondence.....X, 192
— letter to.....VI, 83
— peace mission of....X, 204
Read, Geo., Constitutional Father .....V, 299
— vote on slavery.....V, 297
Read, Thos. Buchanan, "Sheridan's Ride"....X, 251
"Rebecca," Lincoln's pseudonym .....I, 231
Rebel depredations, assessments for.....X, 253, 255

Rebel depredations (*contd.*)
— prisoners, *see* Prisoners of war.
— States, forbidding intercourse with forbidden.VI,345
Rebellion, difference from secession .....VI, 312
— "sugar coated".....VI, 313
Reciprocity, with Can..X, 290
— with Sandwich Islands.... IX, 304
See also, Treaties.
Recommendation, for office.. II, 106, 123
— letter of L. asking..II, 123
Reconstruction, Cabinet approves plan of.....XI, 86
— differences on.....XI, 85
— difficulties of.....IX, 248
— in Arkansas.....X, 11
— in La.....IX, 282; XI, 91
— in Tennessee.....IX, 116
— policy of.....VIII, 80
— proclamation on.....X, 152
— Sickles makes tour on.X, 9
Rectortown, Va., McDowell at VII, 204
Reddick, Wm.,.....IV, 50
Red River, Banks' expedition on .....X, 227
Reed, Alex., Rev., letter to... VIII, 217
Reed, J. H., letter to...VI, 60
Reeder, A. H., deception of.. II, 284
Reeside, Jas., mail contractor I, 133, 348
Refugees, to be protected..... VIII, 170
Regulations; *see,* Commercial regulations.
Religious denominations, reply to.....VIII, 28
Religious feeling, of Lincoln VIII, 235; X, 270
Religious freedom, accompanies prosperity..VIII, xxxvi
Remann, —, recommendation of .....II, 122
Renshaw, J. M., restraint of.. X, 78
Renshaw, Wm. B., Com. thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162
Renwick, G. W.,.....IV, 50
Representation, slave basis of V, 48
— increased by slave population.....II, 233
Representatives, U. S., House of, *see* House of Representatives, U. S.
"Republican," offense of..... VIII, 255
"Republican, Abraham Lincoln, the Great," by Wm. McKinley .....V, v
Republican banquet, L.'s speech at.....II, 308
Republican Club, address at, by Frank S. Black....IV, v
— — Theodore Roosevelt II, v
Republican institutions, sustenance of.....II, 5

Repub'n institut'ns (*contd.*)
— vindication of.....X, xxi
Republican National convention, 1856.....IV, 311
— 1860.....VI, 12
— — Southern representation at.....VI, 43
— — nomination accepted.... VI, 14
Republican party, anti-slavery sentiments of.....VI, 59
— attempts to disrupt..V, 319
— Clay, C. M., canvasses Ill. for.....VI, 47
— conservatism of.....V, 148
— creed of.....V, 1
— Democratic party, difference from.....XI, 107
— determination to win.V, 217
— disadvantages of....III, 155
— divisions in.....V, 131
— Douglas and..... II, 363; IV, 227, 273
— — anticipates compromise with.....V, 277
— — draws support from.... V, 216
— — endangers success of... V, 268
— — endeavors to attach.... III, 347
— — influence on..V, 122, 148
— earnestness of.....V, 274
— effort to defeat.....VI, 57
— fear of, to use name.IV, 177
— formation of..... II, 308; III, 272, 314
Republican party (*contd.*)
— fugitive-slave law, repeal demanded.....III, 261
— fusion favored by L..... V, 130, 233
— hostility to South.IV, 7, 12
— Ill., formation in..... III, 204; XI, 103
— — L. "first, last and only choice" ..... III, 212; IV, 16, 174
— — prospects in....III, 155
— — represented in legislature.....III, 156; IV, 11
— — standard bearer in..... III, 158
— — State Central committee formed.....II, 264
— L.'s part in campaign of 1854.....III, 225
— — prophecy fulfilled..... VI, 117
— — zeal to preserve..V, 128
— numbers in 1856.....III, 15
— principles of..... IV, 328; V, 117, 125, 147
— protests admission of slave States.....IV, 73
— purpose of.....V, 260, 267
— — danger to.....V, 260
— representatives of, vote for Crittenden-Montgomery bill V, 119, 278
— revolutionary ideas denied.. V, 313
— sectionalism of..... IV, 4, 246, 269, 349; V, 28

Republican party (*contd.*)
— — denied ..... V, 310
— slavery, opposes extension of.....III, 63
— — — in D. of C..... III, 63, 262
— — paramount issue in..... V, 339
— — position on..... V, 119; XI, 107
— — purpose to prevent..... V, 181
— Southern apprehension of.. IV, 2; VI, 170
— — man desired on national ticket.....V, 234, 273
— struggle against Lecompton constitution.....III, 62, 163
— success of, course in event of.....V, 218
— — disunion threatened by.. V, 219
— — L. enlisted for....V, 257
— temper of.....V, 268
Republican platform, 1854... III, 205; IV, 336
— — Lincoln denies part in.. III, 224
— 1856.....III, 337
— 1860.....VI, 15
Republican position, Whig adherence to.....II, 69
Republican State Central committee .....II, 264
Republican State convention, Ill., 1854.....III, 279
— 1856..III, 1; IV, 16, 43, 311
Repub'n state conv'n (*cont.*)
— 1858, L. appeals to.III, 133
Retaliation, order of...IX, 48
Revenue, collection and disbursement of.....I, 102
— deficiency in.....I, 245
— internal, receipts from, 1863 X, 292
— postal, receipts from, 1864.. X, 297
— proposal to collect in specie I, 103
— service, treason in,VII, 101
— Whig position on....I, 245
See also, Treasury U. S.
Revolution of 1775, *see,* American Revolution.
Revolution, right of....I, 339
— effect of.....I, 339
Reynolds, John, Gov. of Ill.,.. I, 252
— acts in Morton case..... IX, 287
— delegate.....IV, 42
— opposes Douglas..... IV, 169, 170
— supports Trumbull....IV, 9
Rhode Island, abolition of slavery in.....V, 8
— Butler's proposal to raise troops in.....VI, 352
— signature to papers of..... VII, 306
— Sprague, governor of..... VII, 261
Rice, A. H., presents ox..... X, 261

Rice, Elliott W., Col..XI, 133
Richardson, —, charges L. with Know-nothingism..... VI, 46
Richardson, —, detained at Richmond .....VIII, 290
Richardson, Wm. A., on Mexican war.....I, 329
Richmond, Va., advice on investment of.....VIII, 297
— Blair's mission to...XI, 11
— blockaded.....XI, 80
— Brooks a prisoner in..... X, 41, 49
— Burnside's plan for entering VIII, 88, 89
— Campbell in.....XI, 73
— Confederate capitol..... VI, 306
— evacuation of....XI, 70, 84
— Foote attempts escape from X, 339
— Frémont urged to move on VII, 165
— Hooker's plan against..... VIII, 243
— L.'s plan against..VIII, 263
— — visit to..... X, 94; XI, 72, 73, 94
— losses in operations against X, 164
— McClellan's retreat from... VII, 239
— McDowell ordered to attack VII, 168
— plan of attack on..VIII, 59
— prayers for Pres. in.XI, 92
Richmond (*contd.*)
— reinforces Jackson.VII, 228
— supplies cut off from..... VII, 177
Richmond "Enquirer"..... V, 272, 358
— "irrepressible conflict" first appears in.....V, 215
— issue revealed by...IV, 200
— "State equality" in..II, 310
Richmond "Sentinel"..... VIII, 291; X, 31
Richmond, —, Dr., candidacy of .....II, 271
Ricketts, J. B., Gen., ordered to Manassas.....VII, 194
Ridgely, Reddick.....II, 50
Right and wrong, slavery a struggle between.....V, 65
Right, eternal, makes might... V, 338
Rights, of the people....X, 50
— — enormity against..I, 106
— of property, respect for.... VII, 127; X, 54
— State, *see*, State rights.
Riney, Zach., school of, VI, 26
Rio Grande, erection of fort on .....I, 327
— commencement of hostilities on .....II, 52
— Texas claims boundary on.. I, 332; VI, 36
See also, Mexican War; Mexico.
Rionese, —, appeal for, IX, 104
Riot, in Coles Co., Ill., X, 141

Riot (*contd.*)
— in N. Y. City....VIII, 266
Ripley, —, Gen., Owen introduced to.....XI, 116
Ritchie, Geo. Thos....XI, 142
Rivas, Don Rafael, minister from New Granada.VIII, 189
River patrol, Rosecrans' plan for .....VIII, 214
"River Queen," steamer, Hampton Roads conference on .....XI, 30
Rivers, improvement of, under J. Q. Adams.....II, 33
— tonnage duties for clearing II, 42
See also, Internal Improvements.
Road, improvement of, under J. Q. Adams.....II, 33
— location of, by L.....I, 12
— Jefferson's policy on.II, 38
— tonnage duties for construction of.....II, 42
See also, Internal Improvements.
Roberts, J. J., Pres of Liberia VIII, 5
Roberts, Marsh. O., claim of XI, 131
Robertson, Geo., draft of letter to.....VIII, 78
— letter to....II, 78; VIII, 87
Robinson, —, Lt.-Col., inquiries to.....X, 253
Robinson, Chas. D., letter to X, 193
Robinson, H. R., leaves Whig party .....II, 49
Robinson, J. J., witness..... III, 349
Robinson, John M., Rev., exiled .....VIII, 173
Rochester, N. Y., address at VI, 135
Rockford, Ill., convention at.. III, 311
Rockingham Co., Va., emigration of L.'s grandfather from V, 286
— home of Dav. Lincoln.II, 181
— Lincoln family in..... VI, 24, 57
Rock Island, Ill., Huidekoper enlists Confederate prisoners at .....X, 210
Rock Island Bridge Co., case of .....II, 339, 340; XI, 54
Rockwell, N. J., letter to.... I, 286
Rogers, A. F., Col., exchanged X, 54
Rogers, John, Capt., promoted IX, 253
Rogersville, Tenn., Burnside's loss at.....IX, 204
Rolling Fork, Ky., home of Lincoln near.....VI, 26
Rollins, Jas. S., plea for Mo. exiles .....VIII, 172
Roman Catholic chaplains, appointment of.....VII, 8
Romance, early, of Lincoln.. I, 87

Rooks, Elizabeth, Mrs., affidavit in Wright case..... IX, 120
Roosevelt, R. B., letter to... IX, 202
Roosevelt, Theo., on "Lincoln and the Race Problem," II, v
Roosevelt, Theo., letter to.. XI, 42
Rosecrans, W. S., Maj.-Gen., advice asked on Confederate raids .....VIII, 216
— advised to hold Kingston road.....IX, 167
— asked to attack.....IX, 154
— — for news of Grant..... VIII, 280, 282
— — to report.....IX, 133
— — to review Ward case... X, 82
— battle of Stone River..... VIII, 227
— Belgian consul, returns papers of.....X, 124
— believes L. dissatisfied with VIII, 254; IX, 107
— Bragg's dispatch repeated to IX, 134
— Brown, investigates complaints of.....X, 134
— Burnside cannot reinforce.. IX, 167
— — relieves.....IX, 141
— Chattanooga to be held by.. IX, 131, 137, 154
— checks dangerous sentiment in North.....IX, 107
Rosecrans, W. S. (*contd.*)
— Corinth troops sent to..... IX, 133
— engagement at Bristow Station reported to....IX, 179
— fails to attack Bragg..... VIII, 284; IX, 66
— Haggard case and..... VIII, 279
— instructions on Hooker and Slocum.....IX, 142
— letters to.VIII, 227; X, 36, 63, 123, 273
— L.'s appreciation of.IX, 107
— Louden sentenced....X, 93
— Missouri, invasion of, repelled.....X, 341
— — prevents outbreak in.... IX, 297
— at Murfreesboro, Tenn.... VIII, 173
— orders religious denominations to take oath....X, 63
— ordered to allow soldiers to vote.....X, 235
— popularity of.VIII, 226, 229
— promotion of, imperative... IX, 265
— proposes to patrol river... VIII, 214
— reinforcements for.IX, 137
— Sanderson ordered to join.. X, 19
— Sherman advances to aid of IX, 167
— telegram to..... VIII, 214, 228, 232, 254, 279,

280, 282; IX, 132, 133, 134, 142, 178, 207; X, 82, 93, 124, 234
— — on Davies and Mitchell VIII, 232
— Tennessee, engaged in relief of.....VIII, 71; IX, 64
— Vallandigham under control of.....VIII, 278
— wishes to antedate commission.....VIII, 228
Rosette, John E., letter to... II, 313
Ross, Dr., Rev., case of,..... IV, 202
Ross, John, letter to, VIII, 45
Ross, Wm., Col.....II, 356
Rough and ready clubs, advice on.....II, 50
— formation of.....II, 50
Rowan, S. C., Com., thanks of Congress to.....VII, 267
Ruckel, Dan. E.....VII, 131
Rumsey, Anne Maria..X, 29
Running, L.'s excellence in.. III, 209
Russell, Caleb, letter to..... VIII, 174
Russell, John H., Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162
Russell letter, Lee returns... XI, 62
Russell, Lord John, correspondence on "Trent" affair VII, 91
— solicitude of.....VI, 277
Russia, Cameron offered ministry to.....VII, 80
— Clay, C. M., minister to... VII, 307
— consul of, dismissed..... VI, 281
— Emperor of, and "Trent" affair.....VII, 107
— relations with .....VIII, xl
— telegraph connection proposed.....VIII, 99
— — to England via..IX, 229
Rutledge, John, supports slavery .....V, 304

S

"S. B. Carson," steamboat.... II, 349
Sabbath observance, order for VIII, 76; XI, 126
"Sabine," movements of..... VII, 129
— commander of, refuses to land troops.....VI, 301
Sabine Pass, Tex., cotton shipped from.....X, 186
Sack, Hen., sentence commuted.....X, 106, 107
Sagacity, political, of Lincoln VII, xvii, xxvi
Sailor's Creek, fight at, XI, 76
Sailors' Fair, at Boston, Mass X, 260
— ox presented to.....X, 261
Sailors, loyalty of.....VI, 321
St. Albans, Vt., port of entry X, 337

St. Augustine, Fla., blockaded XI, 80
St. Clair Co., Ill..II, 273, 275
St. Genevieve, Mo., slavery in V, 224
St. John's, Fla., blockaded.... XI, 80
St. Joseph, Mo., disloyal persons armed in.....IX, 186
St. Louis, Mo., factions in.... VIII, 250
— fair at.....X, 105
— Frémont's troops in.VII, 76
— Ind. troops in.....VI, 343
— insurrection in.....VII, 75
— L. at.....I, 178
— lynching at.....I, 39
— proposed subtreasury at.... I, 117
— rebel depredations in..... X, 255
— salute ordered at....X, 214
— Sanitary fair in.....X, 105
St. Louis County, Mo., assessments in.....XI, 35
St. Louis "Democrat," editor of, arrested.....IX, 27
St. Louis "Intelligencer," on candidates .....V, 276
St. Louis of France, Lincoln likened to.....IX, liii
St. Mark's, Fla., blockaded... XI, 80
St. Mary's, Ga., blockaded.... XI, 80
St. Nicholas Hotel, telegram to .....IX, 193
St. Thomas, W. I., neutrality of .....XI, 127
Salem, Ill., Lincoln a grocer in III, 209
— relocation of road from.... I, 55
Sales, public land, *see* Public land sales.
Saloman, Edw., Gov. of Wis., requests L. to call for volunteers .....VII, 250
Saltmarsh, —, mail contractor I, 348
San Domingo, negro colony at IX, 301
San Francisco, Cal., proposed telegraph to Russia, VIII, 99
"San Jacinto," collision of... VIII, 132
— movements of.....VII, 129
San Salvador, relations with X, 285
Sanders, Geo. N., commissioner .....X, 160
Sanderson, —, ...VI, 96
Sanderson, —, Col., ordered to Rosecrans .....X, 19
Sands, —, charges against.... IX, 65
Sands, N., letter to....IX, 202
Sands, Thos., sentenced..... IX, 188
Sandwich Islands, treaty with IX, 304
Sandy Hook, communication with .....X, 142
Sandford, —, letter to, II, 278

Sangamon County, Ill., address to.....I, 1
— — literary style of..I, xvi
— Douglas in.....III, 108
— L. deputy surveyor of.... VI, 32
— — removes to.....V, 288
— — representative from..... II, 269
— L.'s residence in..... II, 15; VI, 30
— report of road committee.. I, 12
— Whig representatives in .. II, 49
— Yates' vote in.....II, 273
Sangamon "Journal," Lincoln's speech in.....II, 52
— postage on.....I, 11
Sangamon River, canoe trip down .....VI, 30
— improvement of.....I, 3
— Lincoln family settles on... VI, 29
Sanitary commission, original draft of Eman. Proc. sent.. IX, 181
— Protective War Claim Association of.....XI, 42
Sanitary Fair, Baltimore, X, 76
— benevolent motives of..... X, 128
— inception of movement.... X, 127
— in Philadelphia.....X, 109
— — speech at.....X, 127
— St. Louis.....X, 105
Sanitary Fair (*contd.*)
— Washington.....X, 48
Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de, treaty with..I, 147, 334
Santiago, Chili, church burned at .....IX, 292
Sarcasm of Lincoln..VIII, 78
Sardinia, Marsh, Geo. P., minister to.....VI, 223
Savannah, Ga., blockaded.... XI, 80
— evacuation of.....X, 325
— Sherman captures...X, 325
Sargent, —, ...II, 272
Sargent, Hor. Binney, Col., bearer of invitation, VI, 107
Sargent, Nat., candidacy of.. VI, 269
— letter to.....VI, 56
Saumenig, Chas., Lt., news desired of .....X, 253
Saunders, P. A., signer of invitation to Henry Clay, I, 232
Saxton, Ruf., Gen., at Harper's Ferry .....VII, 199, 206
— driven from Charleston.... VII, 199
— guns sent to.....VII, 185
— inquiries for Banks. VII, 185
— telegram to.....VII, 178
Scates, Walt. B., appointment of .....X, 60
Schadt, —, Capt., character of VIII, 260
— indorsement of..VIII, 259
Schaefer, Louis, letter to.... IX, 1

Scheldt dues.....X, 332
— liquidation of.....IX, 226
Schenck, Robt. C., Gen., at Baltimore .....VIII, 213
— collects light-house dues... IX, 112
— discourtesy to.....IX, 41
— elected to Congress...X, 87
— near Vienna.....VI, 327
— opinion on elections.IX, 196
— — on Milroy's position.... IX, 184
— order revoked.....IX, 198
— ordered from Winchester.. VIII, 316; IX, 12
— question of transferring command.....VII, 224
— resigns commission...X, 87
— telegrams to..... VIII, 210, 334; IX, 17, 25, 30, 124, 141, 179
Schermerhorn, I. M., letters to .....X, 221, 223
Schley, —, appeal from, X, 179
Schmedding, F., invites Lincoln .....X, 105
Schofield, John M., Maj.-Gen., accused.....IX, 161, 162
— arrests slaves.....IX, 40
— Dept. of the Missouri, command of.....VIII, 271, 282
— — — difficulties in retaining IX, 268
— — — relieved from..... IX, 264
— Herron objects to..... VIII, 277
Schofield, J. M. (*contd.*)
— imbecility of.....IX, 161
— Kansas objects to..... IX, 104, 161
— Lawrence outrage, charged with shielding perpetrators of.....IX, 161
— — suggestions to, on..... IX, 107, 161
— letter to, published.IX, 161
— letters to..... VIII, 283, 294, 329; IX, 147, 186
— Missouri dissatisfied with.. IX, 155
— — elections, order concerning.....IX, 188; X, 234
— — — empowered to repress violence in.....IX, 176
— — preserves order in.IX, 148
— nomination of.....IX, 268
— recommendations in McKee case.....IX, 37
— supersedes Curtis.VIII, 294
— telegrams to..... VIII, 329; IX, 27, 104, 146, 150, 154, 204, 205
— warned against factions.... VIII, 283
Schouler, W., letter to, II, 100
Schurz, Carl, at Mt. Jackson, Va. .....VII, 226
— correspondence with..... VII, 226; VIII, 39, 55, 84, 176
— L.'s query as to office for.. VI, 224

Schurz, Carl (*contd.*)
— — rebuke of.....VIII, 84
— ordered to Washington.....
X, 186
— proposed for Brig.-Gen....
VI, 273
— represents German element
VI, 224
— wishes to leave service....
X, 39, 55
— — remove his division....
VIII, 244
Schuyler County, Ill., home of
Richmond .....II, 271
Scott, Thos. A., Assist. Sec. of
War .....VII, 179
— telegram to.....IX, 150
Scott, W. H. H., Dr., tele-
gram to .....IX, 120
Scott, Winfield, Gen., disfavor
of .....I, 344
— Fort Sumter, opinion on...
VI, 189, 204, 205, 300
— Frémont, consulted on.....
VI, 296
— — orders relief of.VII, 10
— Lyon, consulted on.VI, 356
— habeas corpus, empowered
to suspend.....VI, 258, 295
— Hooker referred to.VI, 293
— letters to...VI, 68, 92, 188,
238; VII, 3, 42
— L. on electoral ticket of...
VI, 37
— L.'s tribute to.....VII, 54
— Meigs recommended by....
VI, 290
Scott, Winfield (*contd.*)
— order to.....VI, 188
— — on Md. leg.....VI, 255
— patriotism of, Blair's opin-
ion on.....VI, 230
— pres. of Bureau for Employ-
ment of Disabled Soldiers..
XI, 42
— recruiting in N. C..VI, 356
— retirement of.....VI, 13
— views of.....VII, 233
— Whig nominee.....
II, 12; IV, 166
Scrap book, Lincoln-Douglas
debates in.....XI, 111
"Scribner's Magazine," Lin-
coln's letter to Wadsworth..
XI, 131
Scrip, *see,* Confederate scrip.
Scripps, John L., complains of
postmasters .....X, 168
— defeats Arnold.....X, 141
— telegram to.....X, 141
Sebastian, Wm. K., Sen. from
Ark., offers to resume seat
IX, 51
Sebastopol .....III, 21
Seceded States, status of....
XI, 87, 88
Secession, act of, needs no re-
pealing .....IX, 203
— anarchy the essence of.....
VI, 179
— difference from rebellion...
VI, 312
— disintegration the principle
of.....VI, 318

Secession (*contd.*)
— doubt on majority being in favor of.....VI, 319
— "driving out" and "seceding from".....VI, 318
— inconsistent with Constitution.....VI, 316
— issue of.....VI, 304, 313
— logic of.....VI, 317
— ordinances of..... VI, 175, 299; VII, 294; IX, 203
— sophistry of....VI, 313, 314
— views on.....IX, 203
See also, Federal Union.
Secrecy, oath of.....I, 25
Secretary of State, letter to II, 106
See also, Seward, W. H.
Secretary of the Interior, letters to, II, 107, 112, 115, 122
See also, Smith, Caleb.
Secretary of the Navy. *See* Welles, Gideon.
Secretary of the Treasury, letter to.....II, 105
See also, Chase, Salmon P.
Secretary of War, conference with Scott .....VI, 92
See also, Cameron, Simon; Stanton, Edwin M.
Sectionalism, appeal to..IV, 7
— cause of.....VI, 165
— elements of.....IV, 4
— fragment on.....II, 299
— of Rep. party.....IV, 5
Sedgewick, John, Gen., success on Rappahannock..... IX, 204
Sedition law, Douglas', V, 325
Segar, Jos., Hon., telegram to IX, 111
— request for exemption..... VIII, 253
Self government, negro incapable of.....IV, 23
Senate, U. S., bounty payments, desired to extend... IX, 276
— Cass' speech.....II, 76
— defection of Southern Senators.....VII, 101
— Douglas' bill on Territorial population.....III, 295
— exchange of prisoners, correspondence regarding..... IX, 303
— extra session, 1865..XI, 35
— first Northern majority.V, 28
— Hamlin in.....VI, 44
— Hampton Roads conference, report of.....XI, 28
— Kansas troops, report upon capture and treatment of... IX, 282
— Lane, inquiry on appointment of.....VI, 338
— L.'s candidacy for..... II, 263; III, 1; IV, 173
— — defeat for.....II, 274
— message to..... VI, 221, 225, 334, 335; VII, 149; VIII, 213, 215; IX, 254, 258, 299; X, 32, 36, 93

Senate, U. S. (*contd.*)
— — on capture of British vessels.....VIII, 204
— — circulation of bank notes VII, 231
— — Court of France, presentation of American citizens to.....VII, 98
— — death of Gen. Ward.... VIII, 213
— — European railway system.....VII, 130
— — exportation of contraband.....VIII, 198
— — Indian outbreaks..... VIII, 139
— — Johnson.....VIII, 151
— — medical officers.VII, 256
— — Mexican affairs.. 182
— — Miles' case.....VII, 66
— — peace negotiations..... VIII, 214
— — seizure of M. Fauchet.. VIII, 137
— — Stone's arrest..VII, 151
— — visit of Henri Mercier.. VIII, 214
— — workingmen of England VIII, 218
— not to be controlled by President.....V, 19
— postpones adjournment..... VII, 278
— power of, to acquire territory.....IV, 292
— report on post office..I, 133
Senate, U. S. (*contd.*)
— Sandwich Islands, treaty with.....IX, 304
— Santiago, Chili, burning of church at, reported to..... IX, 292
— scheme to secure Shield's place in.....III, 204
— Thirteenth amendment, passage of.....X, 352
— Trumbull's interrogatory to Douglas.....IV, 57
Senter, Geo. B., letter to.... VI, 108
Sentiments, political..VI, 157
Serenades, response to, Feb. 28, 1861.....VI, 166
— — Sep. 24, 1862...VIII, 43
— — July 7, 1863.....IX, 20
— — May 9, 1864.....X, 95
— — Oct. 19, 1864.....X, 243
— — Nov. 9, 1864.....X, 261
— — Nov. 10, 1864....X, 263
— — Dec. 6, 1864....X, 310
— — Jan. 31, 1865.....X, 352
Seward, Clarence A., assists in recruiting.....VI, 356
Seward, William H., Adams, letter of instructions to.... XI, viii
— advises calling Meigs in counsel.....VI, 227
— — postponement of Emancipation Proclamation...X, 3
— agreement on slavery..... V, 151
— arbitration refused..VI, 254

Seward, W. H. (*contd.*)
— Auburn, speech at...X, 243
— Burnley's note to....XI, 9
— Cabinet appointment.....
VI, 75
— — popularity of.....VI, 94
— character of.....XI, vi
— consultation on Fremont...
VI, 296
— criticises First Inaugural...
VI, 169
— Douglas attacks.....V, 150
— — denounces.....V, 191
— Eckert reports to....X, 354
— estimate of.....VI, 77
— Fortress Monroe, L. joins at
X, 355
— — order to proceed to.....
X, 351
— Fort Sumter, opinion on...
VI, 192, 227
— Hampton Roads conference
XI, 19, 21, 24, 29
— Hooker's night fight reported to.....IX, 194
— "irrepressible conflict".....
V, 331
— — — attacked for.....
V, 358; VI, 3
— — — not author of..V, 214
— Kan. delegates instructed for
VI, 11
— letters to.....
VI, 91, 94, 102, 168, 185, 186, 189, 191, 223, 267, 269, 330; VII 6, 115, 135, 212, 240; VIII, 252

Seward, W. H. (*contd.*)
— Honolulu commissioner selected by.....VII, 115
— L. corrects dispatch of.....
VI, 277
— L's inaugural drafted by...
I, xxvi
— Lord Lyon, correspondence with.....VII, 216
— Maryland, refusal to change route through.....VI, 252
— McClellan characterized by
X, 204
— memorandum for President's consideration...VI, 234, 236
— notes to.....
IX, 213, 214; XI, 47
— opinion of L.....V, xxvi
— opinion on U. S. mails.....
VIII, 252
— Oporto exhibition, note concerning.....XI, 34
— ordered to pay Meigs.....
VI, 239
— position on Douglas.....
II, 363
— prospects of.....VI, 10
— resignation refused.....
VI, 185; VIII, 148
— telegrams to.....
VII, 245; IX, 194, 199; X, 259, 261
— thrown from carriage.....
XI, 73
— views on the war..VII, 240
— — Emancipation Proclamation.....X, 2

Seward, W. H. (*contd.*)
— Walker referred to..VII, 6
— Whig party, attempt of, to abolitionize.....IV, 167
— Wilmot Proviso, support by V, 77
Seymour, Horatio, Gov. of N. Y., called on for militia X, 143
— demands credit for volunteers.....IX, 92
— L. refuses request to suspend draft.....IX, 58
— letter to..VIII, 230; IX, 103
— sends Swinburne and Gillett to front.....VIII, 272
— telegrams to..... VIII, 83; IX, 53
Seymour, Truman, Capt., opinion on Fort Sumter... VI, 203
Shaffer, —, complaints of..... X, 173
Shakspere, opinion of..IX, 85
Shaler, Alex., Lt.-Col., VII, 62
Sharp, Kate, Mrs.....IX, 120
Sharpe, H. D., letter to, V, 96
Sharpe, Sol., Surgeon, offered plate .....X, 84
Sharpsburg, Md., McClellan at VIII, 35
Sheahan, Jas. W., editor, Chicago "Times".....VIII, 293
— letter to.....V, 289
Shelby, —, Gen., Missouri raid X, 341
Shelby, —, Mrs.....VIII, 232
Sheledy, G. B., letter to, I, 189
Shells, incendiary, offered to Hooker .....VIII, 296
— — trial of.....VIII, 314
Shenandoah River, Banks moved to.....VII, 214
— Confederates cross..... VII, 186
— Jackson's position on..... VII, 220
— McDowell moves to..... VII, 180
Shenandoah Valley, Fremont protects .....VII, 225
— O. Nat. Guard serves in... X, 219
— Sheridan's operations in... X, 251; XI, 166
Shepley, George F., Gov. of La., conflict with Banks.... IX, 273
— inaugurates reconstruction. VIII, 80
— informs L. about Durant's registry.....IX, 57
— instructions to..... IX, 201, 273
— Kennedy introduced to..... VIII, 79
— letters to..VIII, 61, 79, 80
— La. elections held by..... VIII, 61
Sheridan, Phil. H., Gen., anticipates Lee's surrender.... XI, 76
— captures of.....XI, 71
— commands in field....X, 180

Sheridan, Phil. H. (*contd.*)
— Early defeated by..... X, 223, 251
— fears Early's reinforcement. X, 236
— moves headquarters..... XI, 68
— promotion of.....X, 251
— retakes Five Forks..XI, 66
— Shenandoah Valley, leaves force in.....XI, 40
— — thanked for operations in X, 251; XI, 66
— success at Burke Station... XI, 65, 76
— Winchester, thanks for victory at.....X, 227
"Sheridan's Ride".....X, 251
Sherman, F. C.....IV, 50
— telegram to....IX, 105, 112
Sherman, Rog., vote on slavery .....V, 296, 297
Sherman, W. T., Gen., appointment of Hovey on approval of.....IX, 40
— at Chattanooga.....X, 93
— Atlanta, capture of..... X, 211, 325
— — — thanks for....X, 213
— corn and sorghum, interest in.....X, 225
— cotton, movement of..X, 188
— Davis' visit to Hood reported.....IX, 235
— Grant's dispatch to...X, 160
— Ga. campaign aided by hundred-day troops..X, 106, 237
Sherman, W. T. (*contd.*)
— Hovey and Osterhaus, promotion objected to..X, 174
— Ind. soldiers given leave... X, 226
— joint expedition under..... VI, 357
— Logan's leave governable by X, 266
— march to the sea.X, 302, 325
— orders Tenn. citizens north of Nashville.....X, 93
— reported wounded..... VIII, 295
— thanked for capture of Savannah.....X, 325
Shields, Jas., Gen., Auditor of State for Ill.....I, 221
— correspondence about duel with.....I, 232
— displacement of..... III, 212, 223; IV, 171
— Jackson's defeat at.VII, 226
— letter to L.....I, 232, 234
— objection to.....IV, 11
— preliminaries of duel with. I, 237
— report from Front Royal... VII, 206
— scheme to fill place of..... III, 204; IV, 167
— vote for.....II, 274
— withdrawn from Bank's command.....VII, 176
Short, Jas., "woman affair" of I, 265
Shufeldt, R. W., correspond-

ence with.....VIII, 133
Siam, King of, gifts from... VII, 108
Sibley, H. H., Gen., Indian execution ordered..... VIII, 133, 141
— — — postponed..VIII, 145
Sickles, Dan. E., Maj.-Gen., asked to make tour..... IX, 299; X, 9, 19
— letters to.....IX, 90
— pass for.....X, 42
— telegram to.....X, 4
Sigel, Franz, Maj.-Gen., corroborates Jackson's reinforcement .....VII, 229
— court of inquiry for..X, 206
— Harper's Ferry, ordered to VII, 210
— relieves of McClellan..... VII, 208
— urged not to fall back..... VII, 217
— with Banks.....VII, 224
"**Signing** of the Proclamation of Emancipation"....XI, v
Sill, —, appointment of, X, 126
Silliman letter.....IV, 232
Silver mines, discovery of.... X, 300
Simmons, Walt. C., candidate VI, 270
Simonides, reference to..... IX, xxxii
Singleton, —, Gen., proposes to bring in Southern produce XI, 5, 49
Singleton, Wm. (*contd.*)
— testifies to L.'s opposition to Clay's nomination....V, 76
Sinners, the "righteous called to repentance by"...V. 371
Sioux Indians, *see* Indians, Sioux.
Sitana, Peru, *see* Chili.
"Skewhorn," principle,..... VIII, 257
Slander, Lincoln's treatment of I, 15
Slave breeders, hatred for.... II, 286
— dealers, contempt for..... II, 225
— labor, *See* Slaves.
— owners, complaints of..... VII, 122
— — Douglas' service to..... V, 214
— — in Mo., protection to... VIII, 329
— — L.'s feelings towards... VIII, 161
— population.....VI, 2
Slavery, abolition of....III, 98
— — by Eman. Proc..... VII, xxxix
— — in D. C.....IV, 7, 12
— — with compensation, draft of a bill for.....VII, 276
— account of, in Ill...III, 141
— age of, in America..V, 329
— agitation, beginning of..... V, 263
— — end of.....IV, 334

Slavery (*contd.*)
— — increased .....V, 46
— — L.'s idea of ending..... IV, 188
— — persistence of..III, 353
— amendment proposed for abolition of.....VIII, 116
— basis of all controversy... III, 161, 232, 355; IV, 41; V, 151, 262
— — changed by Douglas.... V, 67
— Beecher, H. W., opinion on X, xv
— Bible-right of.....V, 202
— bill to abolish, in D. C..... II, 96
— chains and fetters of..I, 179
— Clay on planting of..III, 182
— climate, effect upon..V, 225
— Colonial.....III, 147; V, 50
— conflicting ideas on..VI, 3
— Congressional resolution to abolish.....XI, 31
— conspiracy to nationalize.. III, 187, 249, 338; IV, 214, 386
— Constitutional rights of.... III, 129
— Constitution's covert language on.....V, 48, 357
— contemporary with Constitution.....III, 186
— danger of extension of.... II, 236; IV, 224, 294, 327
— Democratic position on.... IV, 331; V, 61; XI, 107
Slavery (*contd.*)
— dependence of, on local police regulations..... III, 89, 297; IV, 59; V, 67
— disavowal of purpose to molest..V, 193, 232; VI, 170
— distinction between existing institution and extension of II, 192
— diversity on.....VIII, 118
— Douglas' opinion on policy of government to perpetuate IV, 34
— — purpose to nationalize.. III, 186, 239
— draft of message proposing compensated abolition of... XI, 1
— — for proposed bill of compensated abolition of, in Del. VII, 21
— early opposition to...I, 192
— effect of cotton-gin on.... III, 175
— — on free labor....V, 331
— Eman. Proc. death blow to, in U. S.....VIII, 161
— establishment of....III, 186
— — in Territories..III, 182
— exclusion from Territories. V, 183
— extension of.....II, 67
— — under Douglas' proposal V, 121
— — L.'s opposition to..... VI, 103
— — opposed..II, 282; V, 232

Slavery (*contd.*)
— — to be controlled..II, 92
— — to Territories...II, 202
— extinction of.....
II, 279; IV, 220
— evils of....X, 65; XI, 108
— Federal Union, only danger to.....V, 346
— fight against, to go on.....
V, 92, 94
— foundation of.....II, 238
— fragment on.....
II, 183, 184, 186
— Great Britain forces on colonies.....V, 152
— happiness in.....I, 179
— in D. C.....III, 276
— — opposed.....III, 262
— in French settlements.V, 224
— in Kan.....IV, 75
— in La.....V, 299
— in Md.....VII, 124
— in Neb.....IV, 75
— in original States.....V, 7
— in Territories.....
III, 182; V, 9
— — right of people to decide on.....VI, 23
— inactivity not a remedy for.
IV, 205
— Jefferson provides for prohibition of, in N.-W. Ter..
V, 167
— laws to regulate.....II, 221
— L. on extension of..VI, 78
— — on moral wrong of.....
IV, 275

Slavery (*contd.*)
— L.'s attitude toward..V, xvii
— — determination not to return negroes to.....
IX, 57, 249; X, 191; XI, 116
— — hatred of....II, 205, 281
— — hope of having helped to solve question of....V, 97
— — — peaceable end to....
V, 122
— — opinion on effect of Senate campaign on.....V, 95
— — — right of States to regulate.....IV, 31
— — policy non-interference with.....III, 229
— — position on.....III, 186
— — — extension of.....
II, 67; VI, 77
— — purpose to oppose.....
IV, 214
— — reluctance to molest....
VI, 183; XI, xi
— — speech on, at Worcester
II, 91
— logical end of.....V, 154
— mandatory in Ky....IV, 25
— maintenance of, a condition in cession of Tenn., Miss., and Ala.....V, 298
— morally wrong.....
II, 259; V, 59; VI, 3
— mulattos caused by..II, 337
— mutual concessions urged to secure emancipation.....
VIII, 118
— nationalization of..III, 181

Slavery (*contd.*)
— — by action of Congress... V, 146
— — Douglas.....IV, 32
— — Dred Scott decision.... III, 290
— — popular sovereignty..... V, 137
— Neb. bill, effect on..IV, 231
— new basis of.....III, 174
— Noell's views on...VII, 123
— North, view of, on..VI, 3
— — shares responsibility for VII, 127; VIII, 120
— party issue.....IV, 2
— peace with, question of..... V, 263
— perpetuity of..... III, 175; IV, 33
— planting of, in America.... IV, 206
— policy of indifference toward VI, 4
— position of South and North on.....II, 205
— — Whigs and Democrats on IV, 162
— power of, to establish itself IV, 60
— — Congress to abolish in Territories.....III, 187
— property rights of..VII, 127
— proportion of population held in.....VI, 2
— protest against in Ill. legislature.....I, 51
— question of Confederate abandonment of, and reunion X, 154
— — in Ariz.....IV, 75
— — N. M.....IV, 75
— — Northwest Ter....II, 194
— — Wash. Ter.....IV, 75
— regulation of, in La..... V, 300
— Republican party declares wrong of..V, 119; XI, 107
— — not to disturb, in original slave States.....V, 279
— — proposes to exclude from Territories.....V, 279
— restriction of, policy of Fathers.....V, 153
— right and wrong of..... VIII, 111
— — States to control..... III, 269; V, 5
— root of the war...VIII, 32
— sensitiveness in regard to.. V, 62
— status of, at framing of Constitution.....V, 356
— — in U. S., 1854....V, 146
— struggle between right and wrong.....V, 65
— "sum of all villanies"..... IV, 235
— superiority of, suggested by Dred Scott decision..... XI, 108
— Territorial control of..... V, 296
— — legislatures powerless to exclude.....IV, 66

Slavery (*contd.*)
— ultimate extinction of, assured by course of Washington and Jefferson. III, 234
— — expected by Fathers.... III, 175; V, 49
— — when to be expected... IV, 189
— votes cast against....V, 319
Slavery question, difference between Lincoln and Douglas on .....IV, 32
— history of.....II, 202
— leading issue.....IV, 163
— Lincoln's one compromise for.....VI, 94
— sophisticated by Douglas... V, 170
— turmoil of.....IV, 186
— underestimated .....V, 34
See also Crittenden-Montgomery bill; District of Columbia; Emancipation; Fugitive Slave Law; Kansas; Kansas-Nebraska bill; Lecompton Constitution; Missouri Compromise; Nebraska; Nebraska bill; Negro; Slaves; Wilmot Proviso.
Slaves, affection for master and mistress.....V, 317
— arming of, suggested..... VII, 79
— army annoyed by...VII, 121
— by escheat, Ky. liberates... VII, 282
Slaves (*contd.*)
— Clay petitioned to liberate.. V, 39
— compensated emancipation of compared with cost of war.....VII, 113
— competition of, feared..... V, 204; VIII, 126
— controlled as property..... V, 176, 212
— Constitutional rights to hold II, 282
— difficulty in Mo. concerning VIII, 184
— emancipation of, a military necessity.....VIII, 36
— — in Del., compared to one half day's cost of war..... VII, 119
— employment of.....VI, 80
— feeding of.....VIII, 30
— fugitive, additional article of war on.....VIII, 38
— — not returnable..VII, 258
— — to be freed....VIII, 39
— — to be protected..VIII, 40
— freed, colonization of..... VII, 50
— — future of.....VIII, 125
— forfeited.....VII, 282
— importation of, into Ill. territory.....III, 141
— in Confederate army..XI, 56
— in Del., number of..... VII, 132; VIII, 127
— in D. C., number of..... VII, 132

Slaves (*contd.*)
— in Federal army, 1863..... VIII, 288
— in Ky., number of..VII, 133
— in Md., number of..... VII, 132; VIII, 127
— — recruited by Birney.... IX, 151
— in Mo., number of..VII, 133
— insurrections, instigation of, denied.....V, 314
— labor, conflict with free labor feared.....V, 214
— liberation of, destruction of property.....VIII, 119
— — by Fremont.....VI, 351
— L.'s last attempt to free, by compensated emancipation.. VII, 270
— negro not necessarily a.... IV, 25
— not mentioned in Constitution.....V, 322
— number of, in army during last days of war..... VIII, 288
— — border States....II, 220
— offer to free, of Geo. Robertson and pay indemnity... VIII, 88
— one-sixth of population held as.....V, 330
— population, in 1850..II, 220
— question of emancipation by Congress.....VII, 282
— recognition of, by U. S. Constitution as property..IV, 57
Slaves (*contd.*)
— revolution of, in Hayti.... V, 317
— right to buy, in Africa..... V, 182
— runaway, return of..... II, 233
— seizure of, rules for.VI, 358
— status of, in La.....V, 300
— value of.....V, 330, 344
See also Slavery.
Slave States, admission of new, to Union..IV, 80; V, 9
— — protested by Republican party.....IV, 73
— compensated emancipation proposed for.....XI, 2
— effort to array, against North.....IV, 5
— free population a majority in.....V, 249
— Lovejoy's resolutions on admissions of.....III, 322
— number of mulattos in..... III, 356
— protection for.....VII, 121
— restriction of slavery to.... IV, 188
— right of admission of, denied.....IV, 7, 12
— urged to adopt emancipation VII, 330
— use of patronage in..VI, 81
Slave trade, abolition of..... X, 7, 12
— — in District of Columbia II, 203

Slave trade (*contd.*)
— conviction of those engaged in.....VII, 47
— foreign, suppression of..... VIII, 111
— — provisions for preventing X, 288
— indictment of Nath. Gordon for engaging in....VII, 95
— in D. C.....II, 202
— L. on abolition of..VI, 80
— L.'s tolerance of...VI, 103
— power to abolish...III, 187
— restraint of.....II, 245
See also, Inter-State Slave Trade; Slave; Slavery.
Slave traders, hatred for.II, 286
Slidell, John, in Europe, X, 267
Slocum, Hen. W., Maj.-Gen., reinforces Rosecrans, IX, 142
— relations with Hooker..... IX, 142
— with Sherman on march to sea.....X, 325
Slough, —, Gen., asks respite X, 218
Small-pox, prevalent at Washington, D. C.....IX, 286
Smiley, M. E., Mrs. affidavit in Wright case.....IX, 119
Smith, —, appointment of.... VI, 330
Smith, —, execution suspended IX, 278
Smith, Alb. N., Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162
Smith, Benj. G., sentence annulled .....XI, 58
Smith, C. B., influence asked.. XI, 99
— letters to.....VI, 21, 47
— consultation on appointments.....VI, 325
Smith, C. M., telegram to... IX, 126
Smith, Caleb, Sec. of Int., letter to.....VII, 8
— opinion on Fort Sumter.... VI, 210, 229
— order for appointment..... VI, 258
— reasons for his appointment VI, 187
Smith, E. D., telegram to.... IX, 23
Smith, Enos W....IV, 50, 51
Smith, Franklin W., sentence annulled .....XI, 58
Smith, —, Gov. of R. I., appeals of.....X, 218
Smith, Green Clay, election of IX, 62
Smith, J. Gregory, Gov. of Vt., complaint of....XI, 6
Smith, John C., Rev..VII, 61
Smith, Jos. S., appeals for... IX, 125
Smith, Kirby, movements of VIII, 332
Smith, L. B., telegram to.... X, 224
Smith, Lisle.....II, 114
Smith, Melancton, Com.,

thanks of Congress to..... VII, 161
Smith, Preston, Gen., reported killed .....IX, 137
Smith, Sam., speech of, IV, 360
Smith, Truman, letter to.... VI, 68
Smith, Victor, collector..... VIII, 270
— removal.....VIII, 270
Smith, Watson, Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162
Smith, W. F., Gen., failure of IX, 29
— Maj.-Gen.....VIII, 223
— plan of operations..... VIII, 150
Smithfield, Lee, near,..... VIII, 316
Smithson, —, case of..... X, 48, 275
"Smoky localities," responsibility for.....X, 254, 255
Snead, —, Judge, liberated... X, 182
— ordered home.....X, 201
Snider, Wm. O., presents cane X, 172
Societies, secret, formation of VII, 101
Society of Friends, for New England .....VII, 135
Soldiers, amnesty to, VIII, 224
— credit to.....X, 252
— enticed to desert..VIII, 225
— loyalty of.....VI, 321
Soldiers (*contd.*)
— turned away from Baltimore hospitals.....VIII, 63
See also, Army; Troops; Volunteers.
Soldiers' Fair, Springfield, Mass., invitation to, X, 319
See also, Sanitary Fairs.
Soldiers' Home, in Springfield, Ill.....IX, 302
— L. stays at.....X, 3
Soldiers' Retreat, Derrickson guards .....VIII, 71
Somers, J. W., letter to..... III, 16; VI, 6
Sonnet in 1862, by John Jas. Piatt .....V, xxxiii
Sons of Temperance, reply to IX, 144
South, amnesty, universal, for XI, 131
— conciliation of..... V, 367; X, 190
— conservatism of.....V, 366
— employs secret agents.X, 170
— L. favors partial suffrage in XI, 131
— — held in contempt by..... VII, xvii
— L.'s disposition toward..... VI, 62, 323
— — opinion on terms to... XI, 131
— New England loses trade in V, 363
— responsibility of, for slavery.....VIII, 120

South (*contd.*)
— restoration to Union..... XI, 131
— satisfaction of.....V, 368
— slave question in the..... VII, 127
— soldiers of, fraternize with Union men.....X, 191
South America, effects of race equality in.....III, 92
— negro colonization in..... VII, 272
— possible invasion of..... IV, 292
— relations with U. S..X, 285
South Anna, seizure of..... VII, 202
South Carolina, act of war by VI, 219
— attempt to provision Fort Sumter.....VI, 302
— blockade of ports of.VI, 248
— electoral comparison with Me.....II, 234
— leader in rebellion...VI, 230
— martial law proclaimed in.. VII, 170
— political eccentricities in... II, 173
— reconstruction in...IX, 221
— secession of.....VI, 85
See also, Fort Sumter.
Southern products, passage of lines for.....XI, 37
Southside road, Wright on... XI, 69
Sovereignty; *see* Popular sovereignty; State sovereignty.
Spain, Cuba a maritime jurisdiction of.....IX, 225
— sale of territory to..I, 339
Sparta, Rockingham Co., Va., residence of Dav. Lincoln.. II, 181
Speaker, on the election of a VIII, 229
Spears, George, letter to I, 11
Special Commission, report of X, 22
Specie, amount of in U. S.. I, 104
— effect of collecting revenue in.....I, 103, 104
Special payment, suspension of.....VII, 231; VIII, 100
— return to.....VIII, 100
Species, economic classes of.. I, 307
Speech, freedom of....V, 308
— L.'s first political...XI, 97 IV, 200, 203, 213, 225
Speed, Jas., appointed Atty.-Gen.....X, 278
— Ky. arrests referred to.VII, 6
— opinion on duties of Sec. of Navy .....X, 328
Speed, John, Hon., Wolford's parole signed by.....X, 162
Speed, Josh. F., letters to.... I, 168, 182, 185, 187, 210, 211, 214, 217, 238, 261, 267, 297; II, 105, 281

Speed, Josh. F. (*contd.*)
— L.'s room-mate.....I, 182
— love affair of.....I, 184
— marriage of.....I, 210
— signer of call for Whig State Convention.....I, 181
— — Whig circular.....I, 145
— temperament of.....I, 182
Speed, J. F., Mrs., telegram to IX, 124
Speed, Mary, letter to...I, 177
Spencer County, Ind., Lincoln's home in.....VI, 26
— removal of Thos. Lincoln to V, 287
Speer, Wm. S., letter to, VI, 63
Spies, excepted from parole order .....VII, 103
Sprague, Wm., Gov. of R. I., consents to raising of troops in .....VI, 352
— introduced.....VII, 261
— recommends post master... VI, 270
— solicits aid.....XI, 33
Spriggs, —, Capt., contemplated execution of, VII, 229
Spring, Sydney, letter to.... III, 15
Springer, Francis, letter to.. VIII, 286
Springfield, Ill., address on temperance at.....I, 193
— — to Young Men's Lyceum at.....I, 34
— Black Rep. convention at... III, 306
Springfield (*contd.*)
— — resolutions of...III, 307
— Dem. State Con., 1858..... IV, 42
— Douglas perverts L.'s speech at.....IV, 215
— farewell address at ..... I, xxv; VI, 110; VIII, xxi
— lecture at.....V, 99
— L.'s early life in.....I, xv
— — eulogy of Clay at..... II, 155
— — law practice in...V, 288
— — letter to Conklin at.... IX, 95
— — removal to..... I, 53; II, 15; VI, 33
— Nat. Dem. State Conv. at, 1858.....IV, 42
— Patten greeted at..XI, 120
— proposed railroad to....I, 2
— prospects for removing capital to.....I, 17
— remarks at, after nomination VI, 49
— — election celebration in... VI, 72
— Rep. State Conv..... III, 279; IV, 16, 311
— speeches at..... I, 100; II, 315; III, 1, 108, 155
— Whig Conv. at, call for... II, 154
— — meeting at.....I, 240
Springfield "Journal," Lincoln's letter to.....I, 221

Springfield "Register," Lincoln exonerated in...IV, 192
Springfield, Mass., Soldiers Fair at.....X, 319
Springfield, Mo., completion of railroad to, urged..VIII, 197
Squatter sovereignty ..... III, 22, 23, 24, 25
Stafford, E., letter to...VI, 7
Stager, Anson, telegram to.. VIII, 281
Stahel, —, Gen., question of assignment .....VIII, 226
Standard of value, true..... VI, 128
Stanford, Josh. R., letter to.. II, 178
Stanley, Edw., Mil. Gov. of N. C., inquiry on..VII, 212
— desires to return to N. C... IX, 297
— L. approves.....VIII, 51
Stanley, Wm., alias Frank R. Judd, execution suspended.. X, 329
Stanton, Edw., Hon., Gov. of N. C. .....VII, 212
Stanton, Edwin M., Sec. of War, Adj.-Gen. attends L.. VII, 87
— Baird allowed to re-enlist.. VIII, 309; X, 28
— Blair ordered to field..X, 84
— Bowen appointed..VIII, 21
— Brown paroled.....IX, 46
— Buell co-operates with Halleck.....VII, 98
Stanton, Edwin M. (*contd.*)
— Bureau of Ordnance, changes in.....VII, 88
— Burnside's movement reported to.....IX, 111
— Butler ordered to New Orleans.....VIII, 203
— — spoliations investigated.. X, 343
— — telegram referred to L.. X, 259
— character of.....XI, vii
— Chicago "Times," revokes suspension of....VIII, 290
— Churchill allowed to remain in Ky.....VII, 276
— Confederate Peace commissioners, order to pass..... X, 348
— Curtin's letter on draft referred to.....X, 258
— Curtis, department created for.....IX, 275
— — removed.....VIII, 271
— Ellsworth, Edw., appointed VI, 340
— Fort Sumter, establishes date of fall of.....XI, 63
— Freese given negro regiment.....IX, 206
— Fremont asked to move on Richmond.....VII, 165
— Gettysburg, arranges trip to IX, 208
— Gillmore, independent service allowed to.....IX, 267
— Grant, visit to.....XI, 70

Stanton, Edwin M. (*contd.*)
— — telegrams repeated to.. XI, 64, 75, 76
— Halleck's demand for Blair's resignation transmitted.....X, 157
— — resignation....VIII, 166
— Hampton Roads conference XI, 13, 14, 15, 19, 24
— Hedden & Hoey, refuses arms from.....VII, 134
— Herron threatens resignation.....VIII, 277
— Hooker, dissatisfied with... VII, 206
— Howard, orders release of.. X, 201
— Hunter, revokes deportation order of.....X, 179
— Kan., empowers governor of, to give commissions and fill vacancies.....IX, 34
— Ky., pacification of..X, 276
— Lane expedition explained to.....VII, 90
— letters to..... VII, 87, 88, 134, 138, 309; VIII, 21, 166, 191, 203, 219, 290, 297, 330, 331; IX, 34, 68, 84, 88, 90; X, 4, 27, 28, 32, 44, 60, 84, 275
— L. exonerates.....VII, 305
— Linder, discharge of..... IX, 275
— McClellan's attitude toward VII, 304
— — reinforcement..VII, 168

Stanton, Edwin M. (*contd.*)
— McClernand denied court of inquiry.....IX, 120
— Marque and Reprisal bill, consults L. on....VIII, 223
— militia enrolled by.VII, 287
— Mott, brevetted Maj.-Gen.. X, 187
— opinion of L.....V, xxv
— Petersburg, action near, reported to.....XI, 63, 64
— Phillips' re-appointment objected to.....IX, 44
— prison recruiting, L. exonerates from.....X, 228
— prisoners of war, assents to discharge of.....X, 44
— prohibits exportation of munitions of war...IX, 110
— report, 1863.....IX, 235
— Representatives, desires information as to election of IX, 91
— Schofield relieved..IX, 264
— Shelby's raid, reports on... X, 341
— Shenandoah Valley, anxiety for.....XI, 40
— Sheridan's movements reported to.....X, 66
— Sigel, orders inquiry for... X, 206
— Smithson case referred to.. X, 48
— Stafford empowered to raise negro troops.....VIII, 191
— Steele deported...VIII, 325

Stanton, Edwin M. (*contd.*)
— telegrams to..... VII, 165; VIII, 277; X, 66; XI, 61, 62, 63, 64, 70, 73, 75, 111
— Tenn., East, attempt to relieve.....IX, 64
— Tex., western, organizes force to invade.....IX, 47
— troops, negro, desired to expedite raising of.....IX, 37
— Vache, orders transport to IX, 301
— Va., orders oath taken in.. IX, 108
— Washington, plans for protection of.....VII, 138
— Whiting's resignation referred to.....XI, 62
— Yocum case referred to.X, 47
Stapp, recommended...II, 122
"Star of the West," fired on X, 221
State, Douglas on admission of IV, 28
— power of, to regulate own affairs.....IV, 31
— right to dominate nation... VI, 114
— "sacred rights" of..VI, 314
— slavery an evil to..XI, 108
— — right of, to decide on... VI, 22; V, 56
— voters the practical power of.....VIII, 157
State banks, conversion of... X, 295
State banks (*contd.*)
— suppression of issues of.... X, 295
See also, Illinois State Bank.
State constitution, compared to a will.....I, 333
— right of people to make.... IV, 211
— slavery provisions in..... II, 326
"State equality," invention of phrase .....III, 310
State prisoners; *see* Prisoners, political.
State rights, basis of..... V, 6; VI, 316
— claim of.....VI, 315
— conceded.....VIII, 301
— guaranteed in 1850...IV, 3
— L.'s definition of..... VI, xxxix
— stumbling-block..VI, xxxviii
States, constitutions of, dependent .....VI, 316
— domestic institutions of, varied.....V, 52
— equality among.....V, 16
— interdependence of.VI, 316
— legal status of.....VI, 315
— origin of name.....VI, 314
— original, slaveholding in... V, 7
— power of, conferred..... VI, 314, 316
— privileges equal among..... XI, 117

States (*contd.*)
— republican government guarteed to.....VI, 323
— rights of, regarding slavery V, 5
— slave; *see,* Slave States.
— Tex. only sovereignty among.....VI, 315
State "sovereignty," not in Constitution .....VI, 315
See also, Popular sovereignty; State rights.
Statistics, guidance of..II, 47
— need of.....II, 48
Steedman, J. B., Gen., banishes Mrs. McElrath, X, 224
Steele, Fred., Brig.-Gen., Ark., election in...IX, 289; X, 11
— — — instructions regarding.....IX, 296
— — reconstruction in...X, 8
— — registers voters in.IX, 277
— — warned against factions in.....IX, 299
— letters to.....X, 19, 29
— Murphy, directed to co-operate with.....IX, 304
— promotion of.....VIII, 201
— supports representatives of X, 139
— telegram to.....X, 18
Steele, John, banished..... VIII, 325
Steele, —, asks appointment.. VIII, 13
Stellwagen, Hen. S., sword presented to.....XI, 9
Stephens, Alex. H., Douglas' estimate of.....IV, 360
— Eckert interviews..... X, 348, 349
— effect of his oratory..I, 354
— effort to visit Washington.. IX, 16; X, 185
— Federal government characterized by.....IX, xvii
— Hampton Roads conference XI, 16, 18, 22, 26, 27, 30
— letters to.....VI, 75, 85
— L. paroles nephew of..... X, 356; XI, 32
— opinion on slavery...VI, 85
— position on Kan.-Neb. bill.. VI, 25
— Seward meets.....X, 351
— Vice-Pres., Confederate States of America...VI, 85
Stephens, Jas. L., exiled..... VIII, 172
Stephens, John A., Lt., exchanged .....XI, 32
— paroled.....X, 356
Steubenville, O., address at.. VI, 122
Stevens, Thad., denounces compensated emancipation... VII, 112
Stewart, —, execution suspended .....XI, 37
Stewart, C. B., appointment of IX, 165
— reports on plan to pass gunboats.....X, 62
Stewart, Judd..I, vii; XI, 142

Still-house, Lincoln works in III, 230
Stockholders, appeals of, I, 23
Stocks, decline of....VIII, 50
Stockton, T. B. W., Col., commands Mich. regiment..... XI, 291
Stoddard, Rich. Hen., "Abraham Lincoln," .....I, xxxi
Stoeckl, De, and "Trent" affair .....VII, 107
Stokes, Wm. B., Col. recommends releases.....X, 278
Stone, Chas. P., arrest of.... VII, 151
— — evidence concerning.... X, 69, 70
Stone, Dan., protest on slavery resolutions....I, 52; VI, 33
Stone, Wm. M., Gov. of Ia., offers troops.....X, 83
— telegram to.....X, 277
Stoneman, Geo., Gen., captures cars.....VII, 197
— driven back.....VII, 242
Stone River, battle of, VII, 228
— Rosecrans at.....VIII, 226
Store, purchase of, by Lincoln VI, 32
Storrs, Emory A......V, 290
Story, Justice, citation from II, 40
Stout, —, paid by Lincoln... I, 317
Story's "Equity Pleadings"... XI, 114
Stover, —, Col, case of, X, 240
Strasburg, Va., Banks at.... VII, 186
— line to Harper's Ferry opened.....VI, 333
Streeter, Jos. E., appointment of .....VI, 330
Strickland, Jesse H., raises regiment .....VIII, 137
Striker, —, letter to...II, 278
Strikes, shipyard.....IX, 267
— shoemaker's....V, 336, 360
Stringham, Silas H., Com., approves plan.....VI, 206
— thanks of Congress to..... VII, 268
Strode, J. M.....IV, 51
Strong, W. K., Gen., on military commission.....IX, 84
Strunk, —, faithlessness of... II, 272, 275
Stuart, C. B.; *see* Stewart, C. B.
Stuart, —, Gen., sends in prisoners .....VIII, 53
Stuart, Alex. H. H., on committee from Va. State Convention .....VI, 243
Stuart, John T., renews note XI, 98
— assists L....II, 140; VI, 33
— election of.....VI, 32
— endorses Logan....XI, 101
— letters to..... I, 98, 139, 140, 146, 147, 148, 150, 156, 157; VI, 231
— partner of L.....VI, 33
— witness.....I, 63

Sturgis, Sam. D., Gen., force of, consolidated ....VII, 235
Style, Iverson's.....II, 70
— literary, of L.....I, ix
Substitutes, law of....IX, 79
See also, Draft.
Sub-treasury, cost of conducting .....I, 111
— discussion of.....I, 101
— insecurity of.....I, 112
— unconstitutionality of, I, 123
See also, National banks: United States Bank.
Sudarth, —, Gen.....X, 277
Suffrage, based on intelligence XI, 131
— for military service.XI, 131
— rights of.....X, 50, 51
— Wadsworth's inquiry on... XI, 131
See also, Woman suffrage.
Sulgrove, Jas., letter to..... VI, 100
Sullivan, Dan., sentenced.... IX, 138, 139
Sullivan's Island, S. C., batteries on.....VIII, 248
Sumner, Chas.....IX, lxiv
— advocates raising negro troops.....VIII, 288
— assault upon..... III, 175; IV, 33
— invited to ball.....XI, 47
— opinion of L..V, xvii, xxvi
Sumner, E. V., Brig.-Gen., commands Second Corps... VII, 116
Sumner, E. V. (*contd.*)
— memorandum of questions and answers.....VII, 262
— relieved from duty..... VIII, 204
"Superior races," sophistry concerning .....V, 126
Superstition, Lincoln's ..... VIII, 296
Supreme Being, Lincoln's confidence in.....II, 148
Supreme Court; *see* Court, U. S. Supreme.
Surgeon-General, letter to... VIII, 63
Survey, certificate of.....I, 12
Suspension of specie payment; *see* Specie payment, suspension of.
Suspicion, futility of...II, 57
Sutherland, Jos., letter to.... IX, 215
Sutton, G. A., application of.. II, 335
Swain, D. G., habeas corpus before .....VIII, 274
Swan, —, II, 272
Swan, J. R., Judge, repudiation of .....V, 136
Swann, Thos., letter to..... IX, 185
— takes Cresswell to Washington.....XI, 59
— telegram to.....X, 155
Swartwout, Sam., Com., recommended for thanks of Congress .....VII, 161

Swayne, —, Judge, appeals for Harris .....X, 214
Sweden and Norway, Haldeman, minister to....VI, 221
— King of, as arbitrator..... VI, 221
Sweeney, T. W., Lincoln's school master .....VI, 27
— telegram to.....IX, 171
Sweet, Mart. P., candidate for Congress .....IV, 46
— — Land Office.....II, 105
— — Senate.....II, 272
Swett, Leonard .....VI, 96
— defeat of.....II, 290
— telegrams to.IX, 24, 31, 106
Swift, Geo. W., Mrs., requests autograph .....X, 253
Swift, H. A., inquiries about pardons .....X, 339
Swift, J. C., pass for...X, 107
Swinburne, —, Dr., refused permission to visit Army... VIII, 272
Swiss Confederation, Republic of the, proposed as arbitrator .....VI, 221
Sympathy, resolutions of, for Hungary .....II, 127
Sympson, Alex., letter to.... III, 199; V, 89, 97
Syracuse, N. Y., address at.. VI, 135

T

Tact of Lincoln in Cameron case .....VII, 80
Talbot, —, Capt., bearer of dispatches to Fort Sumter VI, 240
Talbott, Benj., reply to Adams .....I, 65
Talcott, Wash., collector..... VIII, 17
— introduction for...VIII, 13
— position of.....II, 272
Tams, G. Yoke, letter to.... VI, 58
Taney, Roger B., Chief Justice, death of.....X, 311
— Douglas disavows interview with.....III, 240
— Dred Scott decision..... II, 320; IV, 86
— opinion of, on negro "property".....IV, 258
— position on State legislation on negro.....IV, 26
Tariff, Calhoun's speech on... I, 245
— Chicago platform, 1860 on VI, 127
— discussion of.....I, 300
— effect of.....I, 301
— L.'s position on.VI, 11, 58, 61
— Morrill bill on.....VI, 128
— necessity of.....V, 256
— Old Whigs abandon.V, 257
— party feeling on....VI, 126
— "Pa. specialty" ....VI, 126
— permanence of.....VI, 126
— resolutions on.....VI, 61
— Taylor's suggested position on .....II, 55

Tariff (*contd.*)
— Whig party on.....I, 243
See also, Duties; Free trade; Reciprocity; Revenue; Taxation, direct; Tonnage duties.
Tax law, principle of..IX, 81
Taxation, of bank circulation VIII, 193
— direct, Whigs against.I, 243
Taxes, authority to lay, II, 40
— proclamation concerning... VII, 251
Taylor, Hawkins, letter to... V, 138; VI, 10
Taylor, N. G., protest of.... XI, 129
— telegrams to.....IX, 129
Taylor, Robt., Col., plan to secure money.....XI, 122
Taylor, Zach., Gen., agreement on veto power.....II, 60
— attitude of, in defense of Tex.....I, 320
— campaign conduct of.II, 95
— Barret's attack on...II, 116
— expedition against Mexico I, 327; VI, 35
See also, Mexico; Mexican war.
— fallacy of arguments against.....II, 90
— L.'s canvass for.....VI, 37
— — Cong. dist. for....VI, 37
— — speech on.....II, 59
— — suggestions on position of.....II, 55
Taylor, Zach. (*contd.*)
— — support of.V, 76; VI, 37
— march across Nueces desert II, 24
— objects to interference..... II, 65
— peril of his army.....II, 52
— position on Mexican war.. II, 87
— — political questions, 1848 II, 63
— — veto power....II, 59, 61
— prospects for nomination.. II, 16
— "shelter under coat-tails of" II, 72
Tazewell County, Ill., Lincoln in .....III, 224
Teche, La., blockade of, XI, 80
Telegraph, Atlantic ..... VIII, 99; X, 286
— overland ..... VIII, 99; IX, 229; X, 286
Temperance, address on, I, 193
— Sons of, reply to....IX, 144
— zeal for.....I, 193
Temperament, Lincoln's..... I, 212, 218
Temple, J. B., requests L. to call for volunteers in Ky. VII, 250
Templeton, Isaac F., convicted .....VIII, 333
Ten Eyck, J. S., consent desired .....X, 226
Ten Eyck, T., Capt., exchange of .....X, 49

Tennessee, Burnside raises troops in .....IX, 175
— ceded by N. C.....V, 298
— cleared.....IX, 116
— East, Buell to menace.VII,84
— — capture of, Buell's main object.....VIII, 63
— — distress in.....VII, 73
— — expedition against..... VII, 228, 247
— — importance of holding.. IX, 154; XI, 129
— — joint movement on..... VI, 333
— — new troops raised in.... XI, 129
— — occupation of, date set for.....VIII, 64
— — Relief Association of... X, 86
— — Union success in.IX, 217
— election, Presidential, 1861 X, 248
— — Johnson's proclamation on.....X, 21
— emancipation in....IX, 117
— — ordinance of.....X, 340
— Federal troops in..... IX, 63, 246
— Fort Pillow massacre.X, 78
— Johnson suggests gov. of.. X, 340
— — leaves.....X, 345
— — re-inaugurates government.....IX, 116; X, 345
— Lincoln family in..... II, 15, 180, 182; VI, 24
Tennessee (*contd.*)
— Longstreet moves toward.. IX, 135
— military success in..IX, 254
— organization of....IX, 127
— people of, relieved..XI, 34
— question of Isham G. Harris as gov. of.....IX, 116
— — taking oath in.X, 17, 21
— — withdrawing forces from IX, 175
— repression of Union sentiment in.....VI, 305
— Rosecrans' position, importance of.....IX, 131
— seizure of vessel belonging to.....VI, 258
— suffering in..IX, 63; X, 86
— West, orders to officers in.. XI, 33
Tennessee River, U. S. gunboats destroyed on....X, 259
Territories, admission of, V, 15
— authority of U. S. upheld in VII, 48
— Chase's amendment to exclude slavery from..III, 287
— decision on slavery in..... IV, 57
— Douglas' bill on populations of.....III, 295
— — position on acquisition of III, 302
— effect of effort to establish slavery in.....IV, 40
— homes for free people..... II, 232; V, 58

Territories (*contd.*)
— importance of developing.. VIII, 99
— nation interested in..II, 232
— political dependence of..... VI, 314
— power to abolish slavery in III, 187
— prohibition of slavery in... IV, 7, 12, 32, 188
— prosperity of.....VIII, 99
— slavery, determination to save from.....XI, 109
— — exclusion of, difficult... V, 177
— — forced upon.....III, 182
— — L.'s opposition to..... VI, 103
— — question of, in...II, 193
— — right of people to decide III, 297; V, 9; VI, 22
See also, under the names of each Territory.
Territorial government, slavery and .....II, 202
— treason in.....VII, 101
Territorial legislature, powerless to exclude slavery.IV, 66
— sworn to support Constitution.....IV, 205
Territory, acquirement of.... II, 67
— — legitimate.....II, 67
— — slavery question perpetrated by.....VI, 94
Tevis, Joshua, telegram to.... VIII, 324
Texas, admission of..... V, 11; VI, 315
— Banks not to abandon..... IX, 274
— boundary, question of..... I, 332; VI, 36
— — thrown eastward.II, 203
— debts of.....II, 203, 317
— defense of.....I, 320
— effect of annexation of.... IV, 40
— Federal authority, important to re-establish in.IX, 64
— importance of events in Mexico to.....IX, 56
— independent but not a State VI, 314
— invasion of.....I, 318
— joins seceded States.VI, 305
— L.'s opinion on boundary of II, 53
— only State ever a sovereignty.....VI, 315
— question of admission of States from.....IV, 75
— settlement of.....II, 197
— slavery in.....IV 186
— Thirteenth amendment, failure to act on.....X, 352
— Western, invasion urged... IX, 47
Thanksgiving, recommendation for, Apr. 10, 1862..... VII, 144
— — July 15, 1863....IX, 32
— — Oct. 3, 1863.....IX, 151
— — May 9, 1864.....X, 94

Thanksgiving (*contd.*)
— — Sept. 3, 1864....X, 212
— — Oct. 28, 1864....X, 257
— orders for, on victories in East Tenn.....IX, 257
— — National victories.XI, 84
Thayer, —, Con.-Gen., VII, 7
Thayer, J. M., Gen., letter to X, 8
Theology, pro-slavery, IV, 202
Thirteenth Amendment, Bramlette receives copy of.. XI, 3
— Confed. Peace commissioners informed of.....XI, 31
— Cong. resolution for.X, 354
— Ky. rejects.....X, 352
— La.'s vote for, desired.XI, 91
— passage of.....X, 352
— ratification, necessary vote for.....XI, 91
— — submitted for....X, 354
See also, Constitution, U. S.
Thomas, —, recommendation of .....II, 106
Thomas, Geo. H., Gen., news from .....X, 251
— telegrams to....X, 269, 315
Thomas, Jack, graduation of VI, 22
Thomas, Lor., Adj.-Gen., business on Mississippi River in charge of.....X, 24
— instructions to Harvey..... VI, 289
— letter to, concerning Lewis X, 26, 74
Thomas, Lor. (*contd.*)
— recruits colored troops in Mississippi Valley..... IX, 37, 65
— telegram to, on militia at Henderson, Ky.....X, 125
— transmits orders...VII, 118
— urged to expedite troops... IX, 23
Thomas, R. S., appointment of VIII, 228
Thomas, Wm. B., offers 100,000 men.....IX, 175
Thomasson, Wm. P., recommended .....VIII, 208
Thompson, —, letter to..... II, 113
Thompson, A. W., letter to.. X, 64
Thompson, Gid. H., deportation suspended.....X, 315
Thompson, Jac., Hon., Peace Commissioner from Confed. States .....X, 160
Thompson, Elizabeth, Mrs., painting presented by, XI, v
Thompson, Nancy H., Mrs., charges against.....X, 315
Thompson, R. W., desires son's promotion.....X, 108
— friend of L.....VII, 300
Thompson, Wm., execution suspended .....IX, 89
Thornton, Jas. T., letter to.. XI, 114
Thornton, S. B., Capt., capture of.....II, 25

Tillman, J. W., letter to..... VI, 100
Tinsley, S. M., witness..I, 63
Tobey, Samuel Boyd, Dr., letter to.....VII, 135
Tod, Dav., Gov. of O., L. desires re-nomination of..... VIII, 326
— nomination for Sec. of Treas.....X, 141
— — declined.....X, 140
— provost-marshals named by VIII, 223
— requests L. to call for volunteers in O.....VII, 250
Todd, Ann, marriage of, I, 268
— reference to.....I, 184
— settlement of.....I, 268
Todd, —, Capt., body found.. VIII, 183
Todd, —, Dr., member of committee .....II, 127
Todd, —, Gen., bearer of letter X, 258
Todd, L. B., telegram to.... IX, 169
Todd, Mary, marriage of.VI, 34
— writer of letter.....I, 221
Todd, Robt. S., Lincoln's father-in-law ....VI, 34, 39
Todd, Robt. S., Mrs., pass for IX, 169
Tolerance, Lincoln's, toward intemperance.....I, 193, 201
Tonnage duties, levy of, II, 41
Toombs bill, alleged plot in.. IV, 96, 97
Toombs, Robt., elected..... III, 343
— reply to Douglas....III, 342
Toppahanock, Va., blockaded XI, 80
Tossing-a-copper, Lincoln's excellence at .....III, 209
Townsend, E. D., Asst. Adj.-Gen.....VIII, 20, 204
Tracy, Gilbert A...XI, 94, 97
Trade regulations, order approving .....IX, 295
See also, Commerce; Commercial Intercourse.
Trailor, Arch., supposed murderer .....I, 168
Trailor, Hen., supposed murderer .....I, 168
Trailor, Wm., supposed murderer .....I, 168
Transportation, loss to labor VI, 128
Trapp, —, deserts Lincoln.... II, 275
Treason, definition of.VIII, 299
— Fed. gov. perverted by.... VII, 101
— punishment for....VII, 285
— in revenue service.VII, 101
Treasury, U. S., advances public money.....VII, 192
— balance in, Sept. 30, 1861.. VII, 34
— — July 1, 1862..VIII, 103
— — July 1, 1863.....X, 292
— Chase resigns..... VIII, 148; X, 140

Treasury, U. S. (*contd.*)
— civil service disbursements of.....X, 292
— condition of.....VI, 128
— corruption in.....IX, 11
— cotton shipment to agent of X, 186
— disbursements for year ending June 30, 1861..VII, 34
— — June 30, 1862.VIII, 103
— — June 30, 1863..... VII, 44; X, 291
— — June 30, 1864..... IX, 235; X, 292
— draft of Cass upon..II, 80
— embarrassments of...II, 30
— Federal attempt to collect revenues in southern States VI, 299
— Fessenden secretary of..... X, 140
— issues $100,000,000 notes... VIII, 192; IX, 233
— loans of, in 1861...VII, 34
— operations of.....IX, 233
— public debt, July, 1863..... X, 293
— revenues, Confederate seizures of.....VI, 298
— — for year ending June 30, 1861.....VII, 34
— — June 30, 1862..VIII, 103
— — June 30, 1863..... VII, 44; X, 291
— — June 30, 1864..... IX, 235; X, 292
— proposed bonds for compensated emancipation..... VII, 276
Tod declines secretaryship of X, 140
— trade-permits suspended.... XI, 49
— trade-regulations of.IX, 295
— — frustrated.....X, 172
Treat, Sam. H., Judge, prepares resolutions on death of Judge Nath. Pope...II, 137
— signs opinion.....II, 178
— telegram to.....X, 141
Treaty, with Great Britain, for adjustment of claims, X, 289
— — suppression of African slave-trade.....IX, 225
— Canada.....X, 290
— New Granada....VIII, 188
— Sandwich Islands..IX, 304
— Santa Anna.....I, 345
See also, Commercial treaty; Reciprocity.
Tremble, —, Gen., traitorous intentions of.....IX, 25
"Trent" affair, Austrian minister instructed on..VII, 75
— correspondence with De Stoeckl on.....VII, 107
— draft of dispatch on.VII, 63
— Italian minister instructed on.....VII, 111
— message to Congress on.... VII, 67, 75, 86
— need of explaining policy on XI, 122
— Prince Gortchacow in-

"Trent" affair (*contd.*)
structs Russian minister on VII, 107
"Trent," steamer, removal of Confederate commissioners from.....VII, 92, 111
"Tribune," debates with Douglas in.....XI, 112
"Tribune," N. Y. *See* N. Y. "Tribune."
Trimble, Isaac, Gen., captured IX, 197
Triplett, —, Capt., execution of .....VII, 229
Troops, U. S., adjustment of quotas of.....X, 60
— Burnside raises, in Tenn... IX, 175
— call for.....VII, 245
— — 100,000, six months..... VIII, 318
— difficulty of receiving..... VI, 312
— discrepancy in number of.. VII, 142
— draft of, for one year..X, 166
— German, in Mo.....VII, 85
— hundred day.....X, 106
— Irish.....VIII, 322
— Mo., status of.....VIII, 90
— negro, in Mass.....X, 12
— — arming of.....X, 66, 67
— — assistance of..... VIII, 186; IX, 245; X, 195, 222
— — effort to recruit on Miss. Riv.....IX, 37
Troops, U. S. (*contd.*)
— — employment of, suggested.....VIII, 186
— — enlisted in La. and Miss. VIII, 234
— — for garrison purposes.. VIII, 186
— — "heaviest blow yet dealt".....IX, 99
— — Johnson raises in Tenn. VIII, 233
— — Kelley raises in Phila... VIII, 331
— — massacred.....X, 78
— — Mo., raising of.VIII, 191
— — opinion on rights of.... X, 94
— — raised in North..... VIII, 288
— — recruited on same terms as white.....VIII, 289
— — use of.....X, 79
— offer of, from various States.....X, 82
— returned to Tenn..VIII, 76
See also, Army, U. S.
Troy, N. Y., address at, VI, 142
"True Delta," reference to... VIII, 73
Truesdale, Cal., communications to....VIII, 251; X, 80
Trumbull, Lyman, Sen., attack on Douglas..... IV, 91, 92, 94
— attempt of, to dissolve Dem. party ..... III, 204, 316; IV, 6, 77, 167

Trumbull, Lyman (*contd.*)
— canvasses Ill. for Rep. party, 1856....II, 296; IV, 76, 77
— charges plot in Kan. Constitution.....IV, 115
— Cong. campaign of...IV, 6
— Conn. birth of.....III, 211
— desires information on Ark. X, 130
— discussion with Douglas... IV, 8
— Douglas' fraud on..... IV, 280, 385
— effect of speech of, on North and South.....VI, 74
— elected Sen. from Ill..... II, 274; IV, 13, 15
— Ga., removal to....III, 211
— Ill., removal to....III, 211
— — leg., elected to..III, 211
— — State debt, repudiates.. III, 211
— interrogates Douglas.IV, 57
— letter to, on Duff Green... VI, 87
— — on La.....X, 334
— Lecompton Constitution, opposed to.....III, 168
— L.'s compact with...IV, 171
— — — denied.IV, 35, 36, 189
— — desire to re-elect..V, 92
— — endorsement of.IV, 190
— — fear of defeat of...V, 92
— — opinion of...IV, 92, 190
— Matheny's attack on.IV, 15
— nullification, part in..... III, 211

Trumbull, Lyman (*contd.*)
— opposes Douglas.IV, 169, 170
— scheme to secure Douglas' seat.....III, 204
— speech at Waterloo, Ill.... IV, 10
— treachery of..... III, 212; IV, 13, 174
— vote on Ore.....III, 294
Trumbull, —, painting by.... XI, v
Truth, immortality of...IV, v
Tunstall, Robt. B., affidavit of IX, 120
Turkey, consular courts in... VIII, 203
— treaty with.....VIII, 98
Turner, Levi C., Maj., testimony in Key case..VIII, 46
Turner, T. J., appeal of Lincoln to .....II, 270
— election as Speaker..II, 271
— Senatorial contest..... II, 267, 272
Tuscumbia, Ala., Halleck at.. VII, 277
Twiggs, Dav. E., Gen., disposition of swords of, VIII, 142
Tycoon, opposition to, IX, 229
See also, Japan.
Tyler, E. B., Gen., cares for negro troops.....IX, 150
— near Vienna, Va....VI, 327
— surrounded.....VIII, 315
Tyler, John, Pres., defeats National bank .....I, 258
— effect of policy.....I, 258

Tyler, John (*contd.*)
— succeeds Harrison..II, 293
Tyranny, preparation for..... XI, 110

U

"Ugly letter," of Hunter.... VII, 68
Ullman, Dan., Col., recruits negro troops, VIII, 175, 234
Unconditional Union meeting at Springfield, Ill., IX, 95
Underwood, J. R., petition of X, 253, 256
Underwood, John C., Judge, recommendation desired.... X, 73
Union, Federal; *see,* Federal Union.
Union League of Phila., makes Lincoln honorary member .....IX, 182
Union National Convention, Baltimore, 1864.....X, 118
Union Pacific Railroad, order for construction of.... X, 32, 33, 36
— progress on.....VIII, 108
— work begun on.....IX, 244
Union Party, repudiation of VI, 39
Union of States; *see,* Federal Union.
Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloons.....X, 128
Unitarian church, difference in.....IV, 233; V, 55
United States, act to modify collection districts in..... X, 336
— area in 1861.....VIII, 121
— citizens of, rescue Chileans IX, 292
— condition in 1862...IX, 244
— Ecuador, claims of....X, 40
— Eman. Proc. divides people of.....XI, xii
— foreign residence of citizens of.....IX, 228
— Great Britain, relations with VIII, xxxii
— — sentiment toward..... VIII, 197
— — telegraph to.....X, 286
— Liberia, correspondence with X, 285
— natural resources...IX, 238
— naval force on Can. border X, 290
— New Granada, treaty with.. VIII, 188
— notes to pay army and navy VIII, 192
— people of, source of authority.....V, 232
— population of.VIII, 121, 123
— — ratio of increase in..... VIII, 122, 123
— protection to citizens of, abroad.....IX, 227
— reinstatement in foreign respect.....VI, 311
— relations with Canada..... X, 290

United States (*contd.*)
— — China.....X, 287
— — Colombia.....X, 284
— — Egypt.....X, 287
— — Foreign Powers..X, 287
— — Japan.....X, 287
— — Peru.....X, 284
— — Venezuela.....X, 189
— — South American Republics.....VIII, 99
— rise and progress....IV, 20
— slave population.....VI, 2
— Ven., diplomatic intercourse with.....X, 284
— worth fighting for...X, 203
United States Army; *see,* Army, U. S.
United States Bank, Cincinnati platform on...IV, 287
— constitutionality of...I, 122
— depository.....I, 102
— Douglas on charter.IV, 221
— Douglas' action on.IV, 377
effect on circulation..I, 110
— fiscal agent.....I, 110
— Jackson on.....III, 180
— necessity of.....I, 247
— subject discussed.I, 100–139
— suggested position of Taylor on.....II, 55
— Taylor on establishment of II, 61
— Tyler's defeat of.....I, 258
— Washington on.....II, 60
— Whig party on.....I, 248
See also, National banks; State Banks.
United States Christian Commission; *see,* Christian commission.
United States Circuit Court; *see* Court, U. S. Circuit.
United States Civil War; *see* Civil War, U. S.
United States of Columbia, diplomatic relations with.. IX, 241
— recognition of....VIII, 190
— relations of U. S. with.... X, 284
United States Congress; *see,* Congress, U. S.
United States Constitution; *see,* Constitution, U. S.
United States Consular Courts; *see,* Courts, U. S. Consular.
United States Government; *see,* Federal Government.
United States House of Representatives; *see,* House of Representatives, U. S.
United States Mails; *see* Mails, U. S.
United States Marshal, appointment of, for Ill.II, 106
United States Military Academy; *see* Military Academy, U. S.
United States Naval Academy; *see* Naval Academy, U. S.
United States Navy; *see* Navy, U. S.

United States Navy Department; *see* Navy Department, U. S.
United States notes, issue of $100,000,000.....VIII, 192
United States Post Office; *see* Post Office, U. S.
United States Senate; *see* Senate, U. S.
United States Statute Laws; *see* Laws, U. S. Statute.
United States Supreme Court; *see* Court, U. S. Supreme.
United States Treasury; *see* Treasury, U. S.
United States War Department; *see* War Department, U. S.
Usher, John P., assures L. on Wright.....VII, 300
— letter to, on Ill. claims.... IX, 91
Usury, in Ill. State bank, I, 27
— legal control of.....I, 6
Utah, compromise on..IV, 271
— L.'s reply to Douglas on.... II, 315
Utica, N. Y., address at..... VI, 136
Utley, —, Col., slaves in his camp.....VIII, 88

V

Vacation, Lincoln urged to take.....X, 189
Vallandigham, Clement L., arrest and deportation of.. VIII, 278, 307, 313
— case of.....IX, 3, 5
— responsible for resistance to military.....IX, 6
— surveillance of.....X, 132
— suspension of habeas corpus in case of.....VIII, 311
See also, Habeas corpus.
Van Alen, —, Gen., letter to.. XI, 94
Van Buren, Martin, Pres., attack upon.....II, 71
— cost of administration.I, 126
— effort to re-elect.....II, 92
— nomination defeated..II, 71
— "old horse turned out to root".....II, 70
— silence on Mexican War... I, 328
— war with old admirers..... II, 72
Van Buren party.....I, 126
Vance, W. L., letter to..... VIII, 83
Vandalia, Ill., depression in.. I, 18
— Land Office at.....II, 122
— L. sets out for.....I, 90
Vanderbilt, Cor., presents steamer.....VII, 278
Vanderlyn, painting by..XI, v
Vandever, indorsement for.... VII, 74
Van Dyke, John, letter to.. II, 289

Vanity of Lincoln, speculation about .....X, 189
Van Vliet, —, Maj., telegram to.....VIII, 332
Venezuela, diplomatic intercourse with.....X, 284
Vermont, Butler's proposal to raise troops in.....VI, 352
— Dem. State Conv. in.IV, 53
— Douglas' early home..... IV, 53, 81
— draft of.....XI, 7
Verse; *see* Poetry.
Veto, Lincoln's speech on.... II, 59
Vickers, —, Gen.....IX, 150
Vicksburg, Miss., Banks joins Grant at.....VIII, 200
— blockade of.....XI, 80
— capture reported..VIII, 281
— Halleck reports fall of..... IX, 22
— Johnston threatens..IX, 66
— lynching of gamblers at.I, 38
— progress of siege at..... VIII, 294, 295
Victoria, Queen, esteem for... VIII, 196
Vienna, Va., defeat at..VI, 327
— Schenk near.....VI, 327
Views, political..I, 14; VI, 157
Villard, —, Pomeroy circular X, 29
Villiers, —, Lady, letter to... VII, 173
Virginia, alliance with Confederacy.....VI, 306
Virginia (*contd.*)
— assessed..IX, 108, 112, 131
— cedes Northwest Ter..... II, 194
— claim of royalists to protection.....VI, 307
— compulsory oath suspended IX, 108
— convention on secession.... VI, 305
— discussion on salary of judge.....II, 54
— Eman. Proc., difficulty of application to.....IX, 108
— — — exemptions from.... VIII, 253
— Federal troops in, embarrassed.....X, 146
— Hanks family in.....VI, 26
— invasion of, disavowed..... VI, 254
— Lincoln family in..... II, 15, 180, 181; V, 286; VI, 24, 57
— **mulattos in**.....III, 356
— ownership of Northwest Ter.....II, 193
— Pierpoint recruits negro troops.....X, 13
— proclamation opening ports IX, 135
— rebel depredations checked X, 255
— remission of confiscations.. XI, 92
— repression of Union sentiment.....VI, 305

Virginia (*contd.*)
— reply to committee from State convention....VI, 243
— status of negro in..III, 175
— troops of, captured...XI, 93
— Western, Federal occupation.....VII, 53
— — Fremont to protect..... VII, 225
— withdrawal of troops from Confed. army....XI, 74, 93
See also, Fortress Monroe; Norfolk; Pierpont, F. H.
Virginia legislature, rebel, dispersal ordered....XI, 93
— proposed meeting of.XI, 92
Volunteers, bounties to..... IX, 276; X, 165
— call for 100,000..VIII, 319
— — 300,000 ..... VII, 248; IX, 172; X, 316
— — 500,000.....X, 164
— circular letter on..VII, 256
— credited on draft..... IX, 83, 173; X, 316
— credits for, question of.... IX, 84
— disbandment of, on Fremont's proc.....VI, 359
— medical officers for.VII, 256
— mustering of, in N. Y..... IX, 92
— re-enlistment of.....X, 26
— to be forwarded..... VI, 332; VII, 256
See also, Army, U. S.; Troops, U. S.
Voss, Arno, delegate..IV, 50
Voters, challenged.....II, 177
— duty of.....VIII, 157
"Vulgarity and blackguardism," charge of....III, 335

W

"Wachusett," captures "Florida".....X, 261
Wade, B. F., Maine, speeches of.....II, 291
— reference to.....V, 140
Wadsworth, Jas., Gen., interest in terms to South..... XI, 131
— ordered to Alexandria..... VII, 195
Wainwright, Jon. M., Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to VII, 162
Wainwright, Rich., Com., thanks of Congress to..... VII, 162
"Waiting for the Hour," picture.....X, 345
Wakeman, Abram, letter to.. X, 170
— telegram to.IX, 193; X, 347
Walborn, C. A., invitation from.....X, 109
— telegram to.....X, 131
Walbridge, Hir., Gen., letter from.....VII, 21
Wallace, Edw. D., letter to V, 256; VI, 11
Wallace, Lew, Gen., defeated at Monocacy.....X, 156

Wallace, Lew (*contd.*)
— telegram to.....X, 98
— — on Hawks.....X, 97
— — Waters .....
X, 314, 318, 344, 351
— retards enemy.....X, 155
Wallace, Wm., letter to.....
VI, 100
Wallace, Wm. S., Dr., allusions to.....V, 256
— L.'s gratitude to....VI, 231
— recommendation of..II, 115
— request of.....VI, 11
Walter, —, appeal of..IX, 104
Walters, Harry, prisoner....
X, 315
Walthall, E. C., Brig.-Gen., reported killed.....IX, 137
Walker, —, Gov., letter to...
XI, 120
War, attitude of Lincoln towards .....V, xiii
— repugnant to people.....
VI, 284
War between the States; *see* Civil War.
War Department, U. S., control of churches....X, 5, 7
— amnesty to soldiers.VIII, 224
— call for 100,000 volunteers..
VIII, 319
— — 300,000 volunteers.....
VII, 248; IX, 172; X, 316
— — 500,000 volunteers.X, 164
— corruption in.....IX, 11
— disbursements, 1862.....
VIII, 103
War Dept., U. S. (*contd.*)
— — 1863.....X, 292
— La. court officers paid.....
VIII, 66
— officers appointed by.....
VIII, 12
— prohibits export of arms...
IX, 110
— railroads taken possession of
VII, 184
— report on re-enlistment of volunteers.....X, 26
— resignation of Cameron....
VII, 79
— vessels, U. S., treatment of, in foreign ports..XI, 82, 83
War of 1812, cost of...I, 126
Ward, F. F., Gen., death of..
VIII, 213
Ward, Jas. H., Capt., opinion on Fort Sumter.....VI, 205
Ward, Marcus S., Hon., appeals of.....IX, 125
Ward, —, Mrs., St. Louis....
X, 82
Waring, —, ...X, 275
Warner, A. J., Col., suspends execution.....X, 329
Warren, Gouveneur K., Gen., at Bristow Station..IX, 179
Warren, W. B., letter to.....
II, 110
Washburn, C. C., Gen., advised of raid.....X, 252
Washburne, E. B., asks for "Charley Wilson" letter....
II, 361

Washburne, E. B. (*contd.*)
— attack on Douglas..III, 312
— candidate for Cong..IV, 80
— interview with Scott.....
VI, 84
— leave of absence for brother
of.....IX, 182
— — for Logan forwarded to
X, 266
— letters to.....
II, 16, 266, 267, 271, 356,
359, 360; VI, 20
— L.'s assurance of impartiality to.....II, 269
— L. deprecates compromise
to.....VI, 78
— — informs, of defeat.II, 274
— nominated .....III, 310
— pledge of, on slave States..
IV, 304
— posts L.....VI, 55
— prepares medal.....IX, 264
Washburne, Israel, Gov. of
Me., collectorship for.....
IX, 182
— requests L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 249
— telegram to.....VI, 352
Washington, D. C., address to
Union meeting in..VII, 304
— arrangements for journey to
VI, 101, 102, 106
— Butler ordered to....X, 339
— Curtin sends force to.....
VII, 310
— construction of railroads
concentrating on..VIII, 198
Washington, D. C. (*contd.*)
— danger of sacking.....
VII, 142; X, 155
— dangers of Presidential
journey to.....VI, 166
— Foote's attempted escape to
X, 339
— Halleck ordered to.VII, 277
— L. arrives in.....VIII, xxii
— local benefit from public offices in.....II, 36
— Logan invited to....X, 266
— Longstreet's movement toward.....X, 157
— McClellan leaves unprotected.....VII, 141
— — plans for defense of....
VII, 254
— measures for protection of
VII, 117, 139, 183
— military line to Manassas..
VI, 332
— — orders directly from....
X, 176
— N. Y. militia called to.....
X, 143
— news of Mexican hostilities
II, 52
— remarks at Sanitary Fair in
X, 48
— reply to Mayor of..VI, 165
— — serenade at.....VI, 166
— salute ordered at...X, 214
— small force at.....X, 156
— small-pox at.....IX, 286
— telegraph to N. Y. and....
VII, 191

Washington, D. C. (*contd.*)
— threatened by Jackson..... VII, 198
Washington "Battery," Whig newspaper.....II, 58
Washington "Chronicle," anonymous note to..... VIII, 292
Washington "Constitution," Trumbull's speech and..... VI, 74
Washington County, Ky., Lincoln family in....II, 14
Washington, Geo., Pres., birthday of.....VII, 107
— compared to L..V, v, xxvii
— course toward defeated opponents.....V, 218
— feeling of, toward Dec. of Ind.....IX, xi
— first general order..XI, 127
— greatness of.....I, 192
— hope of, in free States.... V, 358
— member of Constitutional convention.....IV, 20
— "ordinance of '87" approved by.....V, 298
— position on slavery.VIII, xi
— — U. S. Bank, I, 122; II, 60
— Sabbath observance ordered by.....XI, 126
— Sumner's sketch of..IX, x
— warns against sectionalism V, 312
Washington, N. C., blockaded XI, 80
Washington "National Republican," designation of.. VI, 242
Washington "States"..... V, 272, 358
Washington Territory, organization of.....II, 257
— possessory claims in..... IX, 225
— question of admission..... IV, 75
— territorial enabling act.... II, 258
Washington "Union," article in ..... III, 291, 301, 330–33, 340, 342–43; IV, 306
— attack on Douglas..III, 246
— attempt to read Douglas out of party.....VI, 22
— Douglas' plans published in III, 159
— on "Freeport doctrine".... IV, 361
— speech of Cass in....II, 76
Watauga River, residence of Isaac Lincoln on..... II, 15, 180; VI, 25
Waterloo, incident of battle of V, 357
Waterloo, Ill., speech of Boker at.....IV, 10, 177
— — Trumbull at.IV, 10, 177
Waters, Chas. E., case of... X, 350
Waters, Levin L., case of... X, 314, 318

Waters, Levin L. (*contd.*)
— — error in.....X, 350
— trial ordered.....X, 344
Watkins, N. W......VIII, 145
Watson, B. A., letter to..... VIII, 286
Watson, Gillett F., telegram to.....VIII, 14
Watson, P. H., Asst. Sec. of War, letter to....VIII, 255
Watterson, Hen., "Abraham Lincoln as a Man Inspired of God".....III, v
Wealth, no law to prevent acquirement of.....V, 361
See also, Labor; Capital.
Webb, A. S., Gen., reports news .....XI, 76
Webb, Dav., appointment of.. VI, 273
Webb, E. B., signs Whig circular.....I, 166
Weber, Geo., letter to..... VIII, 286
Weber, Pet. S., affidavit of... I, 70
Webster, Dan., death of son II, 85
— opposes abolition...IV, 2, 4
— pledge of L. to....III, 104
Webster, Fletcher, commands Mass. regiment.....VI, 291
Webster, J. D., Col., report of VIII, 109
Webster, Thos., alarm of.... VIII, 22
— telegram to.....X, 125
Weed, Thurlow, advice on conduct of war.....X, 56
— authority denied....VI, 104
— congratulates L.....XI, 54
— leaves Albany....VIII, 209
— L. avows friendship for.... IX, 168
— — informs, on his views.. VI, 82
— — warns, against Douglas VI, 51
"Weehawken," steamer, engagement of.....IX, 253
Weems, —, "Life of Washington".....VI, 151
Weitzel, G., Gen., at Richmond.....XI, 70
— instructions on Va. legislature .....XI, 75
— orders prayers.....XI, 92
Welch, John A., case of.... IX, 213
Weldon, Law., welcome by.. III, 349
Wellers, Sam., sentenced suspended.....IX, 199, 200
Welles, Gideon, Sec. of the Navy, conduct of dept..... XI, 128
— instructions to, on contraband trade.....XI, 127
— Fox protects "Monitor"... VI, 129
— purchases "Funayma Solace".....XI, 133
— Gilmore assigned independent service.....IX, 266

Welles, Gideon (*contd.*)
— naval force assigned to revenue service.....VI, 225
— opinion on Fort Sumter.... VI, 208, 228
— Porter re-assigned to duty VI, 272
— protection of Va. refugees.. VIII, 170
— question on government mail of neutral powers..... VIII, 252
Welling, J. C., letter to..... X, 173
Wendell, Cor., public printer III, 332, 342, 343
Wentworth, John, gubernatorial aspirations of...II, 364
— Molonoy's manager..IV, 79
— senatorial prospects of..... IV, 16
— superior knowledge of..... II, 268
— supports Trumbull....IV, 9
West Indies, race equality in III, 92
West, Lincoln family in..... II, 15
West Point, N. Y.; *see* Military Academy, U. S.
West Virginia, admission of VIII, 151, 152, 160
— — opinion on....VIII, 157
— call for militia in..VIII, 318
— forces in, under McClellan VI, 332
— loyalty of.....VIII, 159
West Virginia (*contd.*)
— proclamation admitting to Union.....VIII, 250
— tribute to men of.VIII, 159
Wetherell, Chas. M., Dr., remuneration of.....IX, 54
Wetmore, Prosper M., letter to.....IX, 215
Wheaton, F., Gen., leave of absence for.....IX, 113
Whig caucus, for House of Rep.....I, 316
Whig majority, small...I, 316
Whig meeting, resolutions of I, 240
Whig party, abolitionizing of III, 204, 205, 211, 314; IV, 5, 6, 77, 167, 171
— — denied by L.....IV, 189
— appointment of committee to prepare address.....I, 242
— Ashmun amendment, vote on.....VI, 35
— attitude of, in Mexican War II, 84
— bargain for U. S. Sen. of.. IV, 15
— "Battery," newspaper of.II,58
— broad distinction of, from Dem. party.....II, 65
— compact to elect L..IV, 14
— convention, Baltimore, 1852 IV, 166
— — call for.....II, 154
— — circular of.....I, 142
— — district, recommendation to hold.....I, 255

Whig party (*contd.*)
— — Ill. State.....I, 260
— — of, in 1858.....IV, 3
— — Phila., 1847, L. at.V, 176
— — Springfield, 1841, call for I, 181
— — system of nominations recommended.....I, 240
— demands election of L. to U. S. Sen.....IV, 15
— desire of, to aid Taylor... II, 52
— difference from Van Buren party.....I, 126
— disruption of.....IV, 5
— effect of Harrison's death on.....I, 257
— factions in....I, 253; II, 87
— endorsement of Clay's land bill.....I, 251
— — comp. of 1850..... II, 203; IV, 37
— L.'s membership in..... II, 287; V, 38, 288
— majority of nation...I, 259
— national character of..... IV, 247
— offense of, at Butterfield's appointment .....II, 121
— on Mo. Comp.....III, 202
— on national bank....I, 247
— opposition to Neb. bill..... II, 286
— plan to organize Ill..... I, 143; II, 154
— political principles of..... IV, 1
Whig party (*contd.*)
— principle of Government of II, 64; III, 201; IV, 161
— — presidential elections... II, 69
— reflections on condition and prospects of.....I, 256
— resolutions of.....I, 243
— — sub-treasury, position on I, 123
— "selling out" denied by L.. III, 224
— State Cent. Com. appointed I, 242
— understanding among Cong. candidates of.....VI, 37
— victory of, 1840.....I, 256
— will of the people, view of.. II, 91
Whigs, honesty of.....I, 266
Whig State Central Committee, address of.....I, 243
— circular from.....I, 160
Whiskers, Lincoln and.VI, 63
White, —, letter to....V, 292
White, C. A., letter to..IX, 1
White House, address at, on colonization.....VIII, 1
— leaves for the first time.... XI, 94
— L.'s residence in, a witness X, 202, 209
White House, Va., McClellan's communication via, cut off.....VII, 242
— sick and wounded removed from.....VII, 244

White House (*contd.*)
— Stoneman driven back on.. VII, 242
— Williamsburg, communication to.....VII, 247
White, Hugh L., pledge to vote for.....I, 15
White, Jas. W., letter to.... VII, 278; IX, 1
White men, slavery an evil to XI, 108
White Oak Road, enemy on XI, 66
Whiteside, Sam., Brig.-Gen., order for arms.....I, 9
Whiting, —, resignation of... XI, 62
Whiting, Riley, release suggested.....XI, 39
Whitlock, Chas. liberty restrained.....XI, 78
Whitman, Walt.....IX, lxv
Whitney, —, Dr.....II, 272
Whitney, —, letter to..II, 290
Whitney, Hen. C., "lost speech".....II, 308
— letters to..... XI, 101, 102, 104, 112, 114
Whittington, —, Bishop, opinion in Hawks case....X, 97
Wickliffe, C. A., Gov. of Ky., consents to Boyle's raising Ky. regiment.....VI, 295
— defeated.....IX, 62
— questions emancipation..... VII, 125
Widner, John H.,....XI, 114
Wiegand, Chas., concerning command of brigade..... VIII, 231
Wigeon, Margaret E., Miss IX, 120
Wiggins loan, payment of.I, 34
Wilcox, Elij.....IV, 50
Wilcox, O. B., Maj.-Gen., Hampton Roads conference XI, 14
Wild turkey, story of shooting VI, 27
Wilder, A. C., telegram to... IX, 104
Wilkes, Chas., Capt.; *see* "Trent" affair.
Will of Lincoln tardy in action.....VIII, xlv
William of Orange, Lincoln compared with.....IX, lii
Williams, —, candidacy of, for U. S. Senate.....II, 268
— gift to L. of Mackinaw trout X, 356
— letter to.....I, 274
Williams, A., Hon., presentor of resolutions on death of Judge Nathaniel Pope..... II, 137
William Archer.....IV, 16
— endorses L.'s bill....II, 289
— letter to.....II, 17, 26
Williams, E. B.....IV, 50
Williams, H. H., sentenced.. IX, 188
Williams, J., telegram to.... IX, 175

Williams, J. C., Lt.-Col., request for removal of..... VIII, 256
Williams, L. J., Dr., prisoner VIII, 10
Williams, John....VIII, 286
— letter to.....X, 284
— protest of.....XI, 129
— telegram from.....X, 84
Williamson, —, Lincoln's remembrance of.....I, 211
Williamson, Elizabeth, Lincoln's remembrance of..... I, 211
Williamson, Hugh, vote on slavery.....V, 296
Williamsport, Md., Bank's retreat to.....VII, 194
— Confederates cross at..... IX, 22
— Jackson crosses at..... VIII, 317
Willich, —, Gen., news brought by.....VIII, 269
Wilmington, N. C., blockade of port of.....XI, 80
Wilmington expedition..... X, 327
— Butler publishes report of.. X, 338
Wilmot, Dav., author of Wilmot Proviso.....II, 200
Wilmot Proviso, agitation of V, 77
— demand for.....IV, 7
— effect of, in Ill....III, 116
— enforcement of....IV, 7, 12
Wilmot Proviso (*contd.*)
— introduction of.....III, 210
— L.'s votes for..... II, 201, 287; V, 77
— Lovejoy's resolutions on.... III, 322
— origin of.....II, 200
— position of Taylor on.II, 67
— progress of.....II, 201
— record of Cass on....II, 76
Wilson, —, Maj., murdered.. X, 273
Wilson, Chas. L...II, 357, 360
— "Charley Wilson letter"... II, 361
— letter to.....II, 362
Wilson, Edw. C., letter to.. VI, 98
Wilson, Singleton, takes oath IX, 88
Wilson's Creek, gallantry at VI, 356
Wilton, Harry, statement on I, 175
Winchester, Ill., Douglas a school-teacher in...III, 209
Winchester, Va., Banks' race for.....VII, 186
— besieged.....VIII, 317
— communications cut..... VIII, 316
— Hancock at.....XI, 60
— Hooker at....VIII, 315, 316
— McClellan advised to attack at.....VIII, 59
— Milroy surrounded at..... VIII, 315

Winchester (*contd.*)
— — to be gotten away from VIII, 316
— position and force of Southern troops at.....VII, 182
— Schenk relieves Milroy.... VIII, 316
— Sheridan's victory at..... X, 227
Winslow, John A, Capt., thanks of Congress to.X, 280
Winston, F. S., letter to.... VII, 278
Winthrop, Robt. C., Jr., opinion of.....II, 89
Wisconsin, admission of..... II, 194
— — motion to reconsider vote .....II, 18
— hundred-day troops..X, 237
— offers infantry.....X, 82
— proposed cession to...I, 146
Wise, —, of Va., Douglas supporter.....V, 217
Wofford, —, Brig.-Gen., killed at Chickamauga..... IX, 137
Wolf, —, Maj., sentenced... X, 273
Wolford, Frank, Col., action in regard to .....X, 181
— offer of parole..X, 162, 276
Woman suffrage.....I, 14
Women, question of passing lines.....X, 46
Wood. Fernando, letter from VII. 143
Wood, John T., letter to..... VI, 100
Woodruff, T., indorsement on letter of.....VIII, 249
Wool, John E., Gen., command assigned to McClellan VII, 143
— letter to.....VI, 98
— sent to Ft. McHenry.VII,208
— telegram about Bragg..... VIII, 22
— — inquiring condition of force.....VII, 153
Woolworth, Salem E., acting-Lt.-Com., thanks of Congress to.....VII, 162
Worcester, Mass., speech by Lincoln at.....II, 89
Worden, John J., Lt., imprisonment of.....VI, 336
— thanks of Congress to..... VIII, 136
"Working and Eating," Cass on.....II, 80
Working-men.....VI, 119
See also, Capital; Labor.
Working-men, of London, Eng., letter to....VIII, 211
— of Manchester, Eng., letter to.....VIII, 194
Working-men's Asso. of N. Y., reply to committee of.. X, 50
Worthington, T., Col., desires to visit Grant.....X, 206
Wrestling, Lincoln's excellence in.....III, 209

Wright, A. R., claim for cotton.....X, 274
Wright, C. J., plan to secure cotton.....IX, 280
Wright, Dav. M., Dr., case of IX, 105
— execution postponed ..... IX, 169
— examined as to his sanity.. IX, 114
— transcript of trial ordered.. IX, 53
Wright, Dav., Mrs. Dr..... IX, 176
Wright, H. G., Gen., breaks Confed. lines.....XI, 68
— co-operates with Hunter... X, 157, 161
— on Southside Road..XI, 69
— responsible for Louisville.. VIII, 26
— telegram to, about Gen. Bragg.....VIII, 21, 34
Wright, Jos. A., report of Hamburg exposition..... IX, 291
— letter to urging him to carry Terre Haute district for Union cause.....VII, 300
Wright, J. L., telegram to.... X, 168
Wright, Silas, drafts first Sub-treasury bill.....I, 103
— letter to Chicago Convention.....II, 46
Wynkoop's cavalry soldier of, sentenced .....VIII, 245

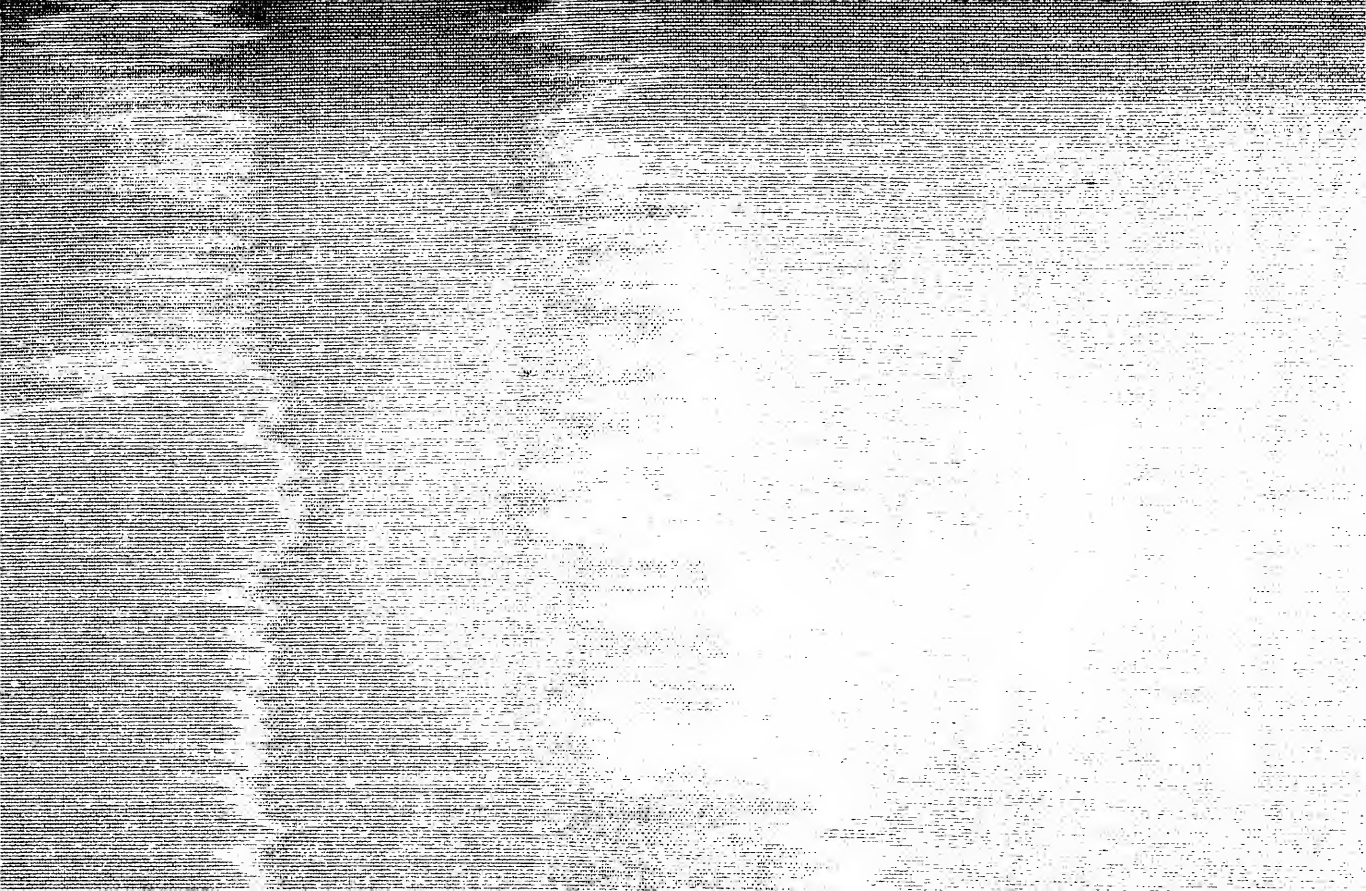
Y

Yates, Rich. —, Gov. of Ill. candidate for Cong..... IV, 279
— L.'s canvass for.....VI, 37
— offers Ill. troops.....X, 83
— reports forged proclamation X, 104
— — insurrection in Edgar Co., Ill.....X, 28
— requests L. to call for volunteers.....VII, 250
— Soldiers' Home, permit to use Govt. lot for...IX, 302
— telegram to.....VII, 145
— vote for, in Sangamon Co.. II, 273
Yates, Wm., letter to..... VIII, 286
Yeatman, Jas., Gen. Grant's opinion of.....XI, 62
— interested in McPheeters case.....VIII, 170
— Sherman's opinion of.X, 63
Yeddo, U. S. legation burned IX, 229
Yocum, case of, referred.... X, 275
— sentence unjust.....X, 47
Yorktown, Va., blockade.... XI, 80
— McClellan breaks enemy's line from.....VII, 140
— negro troops suggested to garrison.....VIII, 186
— siege guns before..VII, 152

"Young America," cry of Douglas supporters..V, 101
Young, Francis G., Capt., in battle of Balls Bluff..... VII, 61
"Young Hickory," Polk known as.....II, 73
Young, John S., case of..... X, 324
Young men, choice of law by II, 143
— importance of, in politics.. II, 57
Young Men's Cent. Rep. Union, of N. Y. C..V, 293
Young Men's Lyceum, address before.....I, 35
Young, —, Judge, U. S. Sen. from Ill.....I, 252

Z

Zagonyi, Chas., Col., bearer of dispatches.....VII, 222
Zouaves, Baxter's Fire..... VII, 309
Zwizler, Lew.....II, 50

Unidentified Letters.

—, letter to.....II, 133
— —, ...II, 288
—, Dr., letter to.....V, 258
—, letter to.....VI, 5
—, letter to.....VI, 10
—, John, letter to.....VI, 54
—, letter to.....VI, 191